BALRAJ MADHOK

INDIANISATION

An explosive viewpoint in Indian politics that is appreciated, admired, criticised and often misunderstood

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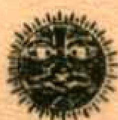
ORIENT PAPERBACKS

INDIANISATION

'Indianisation' is the most explosive word in Indian political parlance today. A national debate is raging around it; Prof Madhok faces prosecution in the court of law for pleading Indianisation in public.

While Prof Madhok claims no credit for originality—'Indianisation' has been persistently used in the early Congress resolutions, and by Aurobindo and Nehru himself—his enunciation of the thesis in the present context has a new significance. He explains what is meant by Indianisation, why it is needed and how it can be brought about. This book is both a theoretical discussion and a practical guide.

Prof Balraj Madhok, MP, distinguished himself as a scholar and teacher before plunging into public affairs. He founded Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad and collaborated with Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji to form Bharatiya Jana Sangh. He has been Secretary and President of the party for several terms. Among his books *Portrait of a Martyr, Indian Nationalism, Kashmir-Centre of New Alignments* are well-known.



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BALRAJ MADHOK

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PREFACE

It was on September 27, 1969, when, while speaking at a Symposium on Rabat Conference of Heads of Islamic States and India, organised by the Indian Forum of International Affairs at the Constitution Club, New Delhi, I casually referred to the need of Indianising the minds of the Indian people in the interest of unity and peace of the country. I made this remark in the context of nationalisation of fourteen major Banks which was then fresh in the memory of the people and which was being utilised as propaganda plank in favour of the Government to counter the wide-spread criticism of its crude attempt to gate-crash into the Islamic Summit at Rabat.

I never dreamt at that time that this reference to Indianisation will create any controversy in the country. As a student of History, I know how this word had been persistently used by the founding fathers of the Indian National Congress in its early days in the narrow sense of replacement of Englishmen by Indians in the administration and how Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Maharshi Aurobindo had used it in their various writings in the wider sense of absorption and assimilation of foreign elements with the national main stream of India.

I was, therefore, painfully surprised to learn from the newspapers that the Government of India had taken a very serious view of this talk about "Indianisation" and had pressurised Delhi Administration, in spite of its advice to the contrary, to prosecute me for that. This started a national debate on this question which is still continuing. The subject came up for discussion in the Parliament as

well. I was gratified to find that there was a broad concensus among all nationalist and patriotic people including such eminent Muslims as Shri Mohammed Curim Chagla about the need of Indianisation in all fields of national life to create a strong sense of nationalism in the people and to checkmate the rise of fissiparous and disruptive forces and tendencies in the country. But at the same time I found that some people had genuine doubts and misconceptions about the concept of Indianisation, its content, need and application. A number of queries were addressed to me as also a number of letters appeared in readers columns of many newspapers and journals.

It was to answer such queries, clear up such doubts and provide a working paper for further debate and discussion on this important subject that this small book was written. It was expeditiously published by S. Chand & Co., New Delhi early in May, 1970.

The book evoked a tremendous response from the readers and critics alike as is clear from the reviews published by such national journals as "The Hindu" of Madras and the "Amrit Bazar Patrika" of Calcutta.

The need and validity of the concept is now being widely accepted. Even Shri Jagjivan Ram, the Defence Minister of the Government of India and President of the Ruling Congress Party has stressed the need for bringing such Muslims and others as continue to look to Pakistan or elsewhere into the national mainstream. The revival and extension of the Muslim League which represents the two nation theory on the basis of which unity of India was destroyed in 1947, the renewed talk of separate identity of Muslims as distinct from the nation and the growing aggressiveness of Communists who place their loyalty to Peking and Moscow above their loyalty to India has created a general consciousness about the imperative need of making the concept of Indianisation a living reality if a

repetition of the history of 1947 is to be avoided.

The book is divided into three chapters. The first chapter deals with the concept of Indianisation in all its aspects. In the second chapter I have tried to explain the circumstances and developments, particularly since freedom, which have made a re-statement of the concept of Indianisation and its implementation in practice an imperative necessity if India is to exist and grow as a strong and united nation. The third chapter of the book deals with the means and methods, plans and programmes through which the concept of Indianisation can be translated into action in the present day conditions of India.

The annexures which include a survey of communal riots by the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of India, an analytical study of the causes of Ahmedabad riots by Shri Nandan Kagal, the Resident Editor of Indian Express, New Delhi, a peep into the Muslim mind by Shri Hamid Dalwai, the young pioneer of modernisation of Islam in India, the speech of Shri M.C. Chagla in the Rajya Sabha in the course of the debate on "Indianisation" and comments of Shri Badar-ud-din Tyabji on Indianisation are aimed at providing the readers with ready at hand material to check up some of the facts given and conclusions drawn in the book.

It would be clear from the resolution passed by the Plenary Session of Bharatiya Jana Sangh at Kanpur in 1952 under the distinguished Presidentship of late Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji (Annexure I) that I claim no originality for this idea. Bharatiya Jana Sangh has stood for it from its very inception. It is significant that late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India, never took exception to it. May be it was because he did not have that much need of working up communalism among Muslims to keep himself in power as his daughter has today.

The facts given in the book are correct to the best of my

belief and knowledge and interpretations are my own. I have tried to be objective as far as possible. But I do realise that even the most objective persons cannot be free of subjectivity completely. My aim in writing this is to educate and inform the reader and not to array or injure anybody's feelings.

Since the publication of the book in May, 1970, repeated suggestions have been made for a cheaper edition of the book as also for its translations in Hindi and other Indian languages so that it could reach the sider public. This paperback edition has been brought out to meet that end.

The Directors of Hind Pocket Books Private Ltd. deserve my thanks as also the thanks of all nationalist people for bringing out this low-price edition so expeditiously.

BALRAJ MADHOK

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INDIANISATION—What?

THE FIRST REQUISITE for understanding the concept of Indianisation is to be clear as to what is India. A clear comprehension of India as a land with a distinct character of its own is enough to clear up many of the doubts, misunderstandings and misinterpretations of Indianisation.

India that is 'BHARAT' is an ancient country with definite and well recognised geographical boundaries. The whole world has known and accepted this country as one entity all through the history. The Indian literature is full of references to the distinct boundaries of this country and its exact length and breadth. VISHNU PURAN which is one of the oldest PURANS written thousands of years ago defines 'BHARATVARASH' as the country that lies North of the ocean and South of the snowy mountains and is so called because it is the abode of the descendants of BHARAT.

उत्तरम् यत् समुद्रस्य हिमाद्रेः चैव दक्षिणम् ।
वर्षं तद् भारतं नाम, भारती यत्र संतति ।।

It further gives details about its geographical features, main rivers and mountains. The mountains mentioned besides Himalayas are Mahinder, Malaya, Suktimat, Rikshaw, Vindhyas and Panipatar. It is also mentioned

that to the East of Bharat dwell the Kiratas, to the West the Yavanas (Greeks) and in the Centre dwell the Aryans.

VAYU PURAN goes a step further. It gives exact dimensions of BHARAT. It says that the length of BHARAT from the sources of the Ganga to Kanya Kumari is one thousand Yojanas....

योजनानां सहस्रां तु द्वीपीयं दक्षिणोत्तरम् ।
आयतो ह्या कुमारिक्यादागंगा प्रभवांच्च यः ।।

It is thus clear that concept of India as one country with distinct and well defined boundaries and well recognised geographical features has been accepted and cherished by the people of Bharat from very early times. This name Bharat has a political connotation. According to the Indian tradition, King Bharat was the first Indian King who brought the whole country from the Himalayas to the sea under one sceptre. This was an achievement which has been rightly remembered through this name. To bring the whole of India right up to its geographical boundaries under one rule has been commended as a legitimate aspiration of all Indian Kings by all the Indian law givers and political scientists. Many tried to achieve it but few succeeded for obvious reasons. Those who succeeded wholly or partly are justly remembered as great "CHAKARVARTI SAMRATS" of the country. King Bharat happened to be first of them. The very fact that the whole country has been named as Bharat after him shows the importance Indian political thinkers and leaders attached to the political unity of the whole country.

That this objective was not always achieved is a fact of history. Bharat was very often divided into a number of States or "Janpadas," both monarchies and republics. Even when the British unified the country

politically they had to tolerate nearly 500 princely States and remain content with suzerainty over them. As a result, when the country became free we had a few provinces in which British India was then divided and hundreds of princely States. When the States were integrated by the foresight and statesmanship of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the number of States was significantly cut down. When the present Indian Constitution was inaugurated India had about 30 States of different categories. Later, when the country was reorganised on the basis of the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission, the number of States came down to 14. It has since increased to 17 and may go up to 30 when new States like Telangana, Vidharba, etc., come into being. Therefore, Bharat with all its diversities and political and administrative divisions is one country. It will be wrong to compare it with the USA and USSR in this respect. The USA is a union of States. There was no such country as USA till the 13 Colonies of North America decided to unite in 1774 to put up a united resistance to the London based British Government which wanted to strengthen its hold on them. The number of the States which together constitute USA has been increasing ever since and now it is a union of 50 States. The same is true of USSR. Russia proper is only a small part of this sprawling Communist empire. The new acquisitions such as Siberia, Tajikastan, Uzbekastan, etc., acquired by Zars and their Communist successors have no other relationship with Russia except that they have been made part of the Russian empire through conquest. Therefore, Soviet Union is a union of States.

The situation in regard to Bharat has been quite opposite. Even when it was divided into hundreds of

States, the people of India as also the outsiders regarded it as one country. The different States were 'JANPADS' of Bharat. Their number and size went on changing but Bharat remained one entity. This basic characteristic of Bharat must be clearly kept in mind while considering the question of Indianisation.

The two other names by which this country has been known for a long time are Hindustan and India. Unlike the name Bharat both these names have a geographical connotation and were given to us by foreigners. The name Hindustan is a gift of the Iranians to us. When they first came to India in the 5th century B.C. and made its North Western region a part of the vast Iranian empire, they were struck by the grandeur of the river Sindhu, the first great geographical landmark which meets the eyes when any one enters our country from the West. Since Sanskrit 'S' becomes 'H' in Persian they pronounced the river Sindhu as Hindu and called the land of the Hindu as Hindustan and its people as Hindus.

They were followed by the Greeks who invaded India under Alexander early in the 4th century B.C. The Greeks pronounced the Sindhu as Indus and named the land of the Indus as India and called its people Indians. Thus both words Hindu and Indian have a common origin and mean one and the same thing.

Since most of the West Asian people learnt about our country mainly from Persians or Iranians and Persian literature, India has been known to them as Hindustan. The Turkish and Moghul invaders and rulers of India called this country by the same name. But the Europeans who came to know about this country mainly from the Greeks and Greek literature have continued to call this country India and its people Indians.

Since Columbus had set out to discover a new sea-route to India, he called the Islands near the American Mainland that he first discovered as West-Indies and called their people as Indians. That is why the original people of America who have now almost been decimated by the European Colonisers are still called Indians by Europeans and Americans. The adjective "red" was later added to distinguish them from the real Indians, that is, the people of Bharat. It would be thus clear that Bharat, Hindustan and India are the names of one and the same country with distinct boundaries and well-recognised geographical landmarks. The size of the States which comprehended the whole or part of this country has been changing from time to time but that has in no way affected the picture of India as one country as known to its own people as also to foreigners. This Bharat, India or Hindustan with mountains like Himalaya, Vindhiya and Nilgiris, rivers like Sindhu, Brahmputra, Ganga and Kauvery and famous holy cities like Mathura, Maya, (Haridwara), Kashi and Kanchi is the homeland of one people who are distinguishable from the people of the rest of the world. They not only belong to one country which serves as the physical body of the Indian nation but have also a common soul, a common culture, history and tradition which has put life into that physical body and made it a distinct and living entity.

A clear comprehension of this soul of India, its culture, traditions and driving power, is even more essential to have a clear grasp of Bharat Mata, mother India, which has inspired countless sages, soldiers and martyrs of India through the ages.

The first thing to be understood in this connection is that India has a basic substratum on which its social and cultural fabric has been built. That substratum

has provided the starting point of India's cultural evolution and continues to be the core of it. This is true of all countries. In Britain the Anglo-Saxons who occupied that country in the 5th and 6th centuries constitute the substratum of the modern English nation and not the ancient Britons from whom the Romans conquered Britain and made it a part of their empire for four centuries. In USSR this substratum is provided by the white Russians and in USA by the English speaking immigrants who constitute only a fraction of the total population of USA.

Vedic Aryans provided the substratum on which India's national identity, its culture and tradition has grown. The Indus Valley Civilisation, the true origin and character of whose founders has yet to be established, was absorbed and incorporated within the culture and civilisation of the Vedic Aryans. The latest researches in the Indus script point to its close affinity with the Brahmi script which probably was a lineal descendant of the Indus script.

The question of the original home of the Vedic Aryans is not of much importance in this context. The latest researches on this subject have, however, proved that the Vedic Aryans were the original inhabitants of the area described as Sapt-Sindhawa in the Rig Veda, the earliest written record of Vedic Aryans and perhaps the oldest book in the library of man. All the circumstantial and internal evidence to be found in Vedic literature proves that the area through which the rivers of the Indus system including the Kabul (Kubh) and the Swat (Sarvastu) flowed and which, according to modern geography, included Punjab, Kashmir and Eastern Afghanistan was the region in which the Vedic Aryans originally lived and from

where they spread to the rest of India, Iran, Central Asia and Europe in the course of time. The theories about Central Asian and European origin of Vedic Aryans as propounded by Sir William Jones and Professor Giles now stand exploded. The existence of flora and fauna similar to what is mentioned in the Vedic literature in Central Asia, plains of Hungary and Scandanavia was the main argument advanced in favour of theories of Central Asian and European origin of Indo-Aryans. But that flora and fauna is to be found to a greater extent in the Sapt-Sindhawa region of India. And so far as the internal evidence of the Vedas regarding geographical data and the language of Vedic Aryans is concerned there is no justification whatsoever for acceptance of any other region as original home of the Vedic Aryans excepting North West India.

Not only all the rivers mentioned in the Rig Veda are to be found in this area but, what is even more important, all the North Indian languages are directly derived from Vedic Sanskrit. Still more significant is the fact that languages spoken in Punjab and neighbouring Himalayan region are nearest to Vedic Sanskrit structurally too. Therefore, the argument that Vedic Aryans were just foreign invaders of the country like the Greeks, Scythians and Turks has no basis in fact. Even if, for the sake of argument, it is granted for a moment that Vedic Aryans too came from outside, that does not in any way militate against the fact that the substratum of Indian culture and civilisation has been provided by them just as the Anglo-Saxon invaders of Britain have provided the substratum of the present day English nation.

With the steady Aryan expansion in the rest of India their social and cultural pattern got writ large

over the whole country and in turn it got enriched by the assimilation of the social and cultural patterns that existed in different parts of the country. That this process of expansion and assimilation continued for centuries is clear from Ramayana. Shri Ram's sojourn in the jungles for 14 years took him to Panchvati in Maharashtra and further South. The alliance formed by him with King Sugriva and total dedication of Hanuman to him indicate the steady extension of the influence of the Aryans to remote South and emergence of a common cultural pattern in almost the whole country. The most significant example of this cultural expansion and assimilation and the development of an all-India outlook in the cultural and social fields is provided by the concept of seven holy mountains, seven holy rivers and seven holy cities which are held in equal reverence throughout the country. The fact that these mountains, rivers and cities are spread over the entire length and breadth of India, points to a clear grasp of the geographical as well as cultural unity of the country at quite early stage of the evolution of Indian mind. It is significant that in the entire Sanskrit literature the word "Arya" has been used in the sense of "Sreshtha," i.e., noble or good and not in the sense of a race. This was perhaps deliberately done to remove any misunderstanding between the different sections of society which steadily got Aryanised and became a one and indivisible whole.

In course of history India came in contact with a number of foreign elements with a cultural tradition of their own. The Iranians, the Greeks, the Scythians, the Kushans and the Huns who came to India as invaders from the 5th century B.C. to the 5th century A.D. had some impact on Indian life and culture. The

Indian mind was receptive to knowledge coming from anywhere. That is why the Greeks even though they were described as barbarians were eulogized by the contemporary Indian scholarship for their achievements in the field of astronomy. Some of the Greek theories about astronomy were gratefully accepted and incorporated in the Indian books on the subject with acknowledgement to the Greeks. These foreign elements did score some victories in the field of battle. But it is wrong to say that India "let the legions thunder past, and plunged in thought again." As Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has very aptly put it in his "Discovery of India," India "resisted them, often successfully, some time unsuccessfully, and even when she failed she remembered and prepared herself for the next attempt. Her method has been two-fold, to fight them and drive them out and to absorb those who could not be driven away. . . ."

India adopted the same approach to the Arab, Turk and Moghul invaders who came to India from the 8th to 16th century in successive waves. In the words of Pandit Nehru, "It was a continuous long drawn out conflict, and while the struggle was going on, the other process of absorption and **Indianisation** was also at work ending in the invaders becoming as much Indians as any one else. Akbar became the great representative of the old Indian ideal of a synthesis of differing elements and their fusion into a common nationality. Because he identified himself with India, India took to him although he was a new-comer. So long as his successors kept in line with this policy and with the genius of the nation, their empire endured. When they broke away and opposed the whole drift of national development, they weakened and their em-

pire went to pieces. New movements arose, narrow in outlook but representing a resurgent nationalism and though they were not strong enough to build permanently, they were capable of destroying the empire of the Moghuls."[1]

These invaders had not much to contribute in the field of culture. Actually the Arabs benefited by their contact with India and acted as the carriers of Indian learning to West Asia and Europe through translations of Sanskrit books into Arabic. The Turks and the Moghuls had no distinct culture of their own. They were nomadic people who had come under the influence of Buddhism during the Kushan period and had later been over-powered by Islam. Whatever cultural tradition they had was mainly of Indo-Buddhist, Arabic or Persian origin. The script they used was Persian which is a lineal descendant of Khrosathi, the script which was first introduced in North West India by the Iranians in the 5th century B.C.

It is often suggested that the Arabs, Turks and Moghuls through whom Islam came to India introduced the concept of one God in this country which was engrossed in idolatry and worship of hundreds of gods and goddesses. This betrays a woeful ignorance of Indian literature, thought and culture. The concept of one God like so many other things is the gift of India to the world. That it was well known to Vedic Aryans is clear from the famous Rig Vedic hymn....

स एको सद् विप्रा: बहुनाम वदन्ति ।

"God is one–wise men call Him by many names."

But this Vedic concept of oneness of God was

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1. **Discovery of India** by Pt. Nehru, pp. 154-155.

quite different from the Islamic concept about unity of God. Islam talked of God being one but in the same breath added that Mohammad was His Prophet and insisted on faith not in God alone but also in Mohammad as His Prophet and Quran as His book. In fact, in course of time, the faith in Mohammad and Quran became more important than faith in God. This concept was quite repugnant to the Indian concept of one God which does not bind Him to any particular prophet or son. He is one but He can be remembered, worshipped and reached by many names and many ways. He is mother and father of all human beings and every man and woman has a particle of Him–the 'Paramatman" in him. This is the greatest contribution of India to the world thought and philosophy and is the basis of Indian concept of 'Sarva Dharma Sam Bhav," i.e., respect for all paths of worship and tolerance for all kinds of religions and points of view.

This concept of one and universal God which has been described as "Satyam," "Sundram" and "Shivam" –Truth, Beauty and Bliss–as distinct from a sectarian God bound to a particular Prophet, son, book and dogma has given a distinctive character to the Indian approach to all human problems and is the source of the catholicity of the Indian mind and secret of the survival of India as a cultural entity. That explains why no word equivalent to "religion" which demands undivided faith in one particular Prophet, book and dogma is found in the entire Indian literature. The Sanskrit word "Dharma" has nothing to do with religion as understood in the West. The word Dharma is derived from the root 'Dhr' which means to support or to hold together:

"Dharayate Iti Dharma"

—that which sustains is Dharma. It means righteous conduct and a code of duties of man. As such it holds the society together by enjoining upon every one to do his duty out of which are born the rights. So according to the Indian or Hindu view "every group of men has its Dharma, which is the law of its being. Dharma or virtue is conformity with truth of things, adharma or vice is the opposite of it."

Manu has specified 10 elements of Dharma, i.e., righteous conduct. They are:

(1) Dhriti—Contentment.
(2) Kshama—Forgiveness.
(3) Damah—Mental discipline.
(4) Asteyam—Non-stealing.
(5) Shauchum—purity of thought and action.
(6) Indrya-Nigraha—Curbing of sensory or-organs.
(7) Dhe—Cultivation of Wisdom.
(8) Vidya—Acquisition of knowledge.
(9) Tapah—Life of simple austerity.
(10) Satyam—truthfulness.

This comprehensive definition of Dharma has nothing narrow or sectarian about it. It is as universal as the Indian concept of God. It is hundred per cent secular in the true sense of the term and there is not a word in it about religion, belief or faith. It is thus clear that this concept of Dharma and conduct based on it is the Indian or Hindu way of life. While following this Dharma people are free to follow different forms of worship and adopt different approaches to realise God and attain salvation. They have come to be described as the different paths of worship or "Panthas." That this distinction between Dharma and Panth or sect or religion was clear in the mind of Indian saints

and scholars all through the history is clearly brought out by the well-known words of Guru Gobind Singh, the Founder of the Khalsa Panth:

सकल जगत में खालसा पंथ गाजे ।
जगे धर्म हिन्दू, सकल भंड भाजे ।।

"Let Khalsa Panth (Sikhism) be victorious in the world and let Hindu Dharma prevail." The same thing has been described by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the former President and Philosopher-statesman of India, in more detail in his well-known book 'Hindu View of Life.' Hinduism according to him is not a religion but a commonwealth of religions. "It is more a way of life than a form a thought....The theist and the atheist, the sceptic and the agnostic may all be Hindus if they accept the Hindu system of culture and life. Hinduism insists not on religious conformity but on a spiritual and ethical outlook in life....Hinduism is not a sect but a fellowship of all who accept the law of right and earnestly seek for the truth."[1]

This character of Hinduism explains the existence of scores of Panths, Sects, etc., in this country from the earliest times. Buddhism, Jainism, Shaivism, Vaishnavism are some of the well-known "Panths" that had prevailed in this country in the past. Sikh Panth, Brahmo Samaj and Radhaswami Sect are some of the more recent sects or panths that have been flourishing in this country. Zoroastrianism of the Parsis, Christianity and Islam have also been added to this plethora of panths or ways of worship that co-exist in this country. If they subscribe to the righteous conduct, and there is no reason why any one should differ from it,

1. *Hindu View of Life* by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, p. 77.

they can all be comprehended within the concept of Hindu or Indian Dharma. This concept of "Dharma" is a basic and a distinctive characteristic of the Indian thought and culture.

Another distinctive character of Indian culture is an integrated view of life. The Indian leaders of thought and action have laid stress on four 'Pursharaths'–Dharma (the righteous conduct), Artha (economic welfare), Kama (worldly pleasures) and Moksha (salvation) as the guiding motivations of man's life. For integrated development of the human body and mind all these are needed. Neither it considers the world to be just a myth or 'maya' nor it considers material happiness to be the be all and end all of life.

In the political field Indian culture is reflected in the concept of 'Rama Rajya' which means that the King or the Ruler must always place the interests of the people above his personal interests and personal likes and dislikes. The Indian word Raja is derived from the root ""Ranj". "Ranjte Iti Raja," i.e., he who pleases, who caters to the welfare of the people, is Raja. The social contract theory of State is inherent in this concept of Kingship. Indian jurisprudence does not recognise any absolute right of a King to govern. His right was subject to the fulfilment of duties and was forfeited if he did not perform them. We find a clear reference in Mahabharat that a King "who after having assured protection to his subjects failed to do so, should be treated like a mad dog." The concept of a welfare state was also inherent in this concept of Kingship. Mahabharat makes it very clear that a King should see that "no orphan (anath) was to starve or live in want– that he should look after the old men (the Bridhas)

and provide free treatment and maintenance of the sick."[1]

The concept of rule of law (Dharma Rajya) is also a part of the Indian cultural tradition. Indian law books are full of passages regarding it. There can be no better example of the rule of the law than the episode given in Mahabharat which led to Bhishm taking the vow of not marrying at all. His father wanted to marry the daughter of a fisherman. The fisherman wanted to ensure that the son born of her daughter would get the throne. The king did not want to make that commitment because that would have gone against the law of the land which gave the eldest son the right to succeed his father. Bhishm realising the agony of his father voluntarily came forward to relinquish his right to succeed his father. But that did not satisfy the fisherman. He knew that according to the law of the land the son of Bhishm would have a prior claim to succession. It was to over-come this valid objection that Bhishm declared that he would not marry at all and thus would have no son who might challenge the right of the son born out of the womb of the fisherman's daughter to succeed his father as king. This understanding and respect of the rule of law is unprecedented in the whole history of the world.

The achievments made by the Indian mind in the field of art, literature and science including music, dancing, painting, sculpture, mathematics, chemistry, astronomy, physics, jurisprudence, medicine, drama, poetry and fiction are well-known. The highest attainments in all these fields as represented by Rama and Krishna, Buddha and Mahavira, Vyas, and Val-

1. Mahabharat, Anushilan Parva.

miki and Kalidasa and Aryabhat, and many others have become essential parts of Indian culture and tradition.

Along with these intellectual and artistic pursuits, the great kings and soldiers like Ikshvaku and Bharat, Bhim and Arjun, Chandra Gupta Mauriya and Samudra Gupta and law givers and administrators like Manu, Chanakya and many others enriched the panorama of Indian life by their achievements in different fields. The sum total of the highest achievements in the field of thought and philosophy, art and literature and the values of life which have sustained India all through the history and which distinguish India and the Indian people from the rest of the world constitute the soul or culture of India.

The contribution of foreign invaders to this cultural heritage of India has not been very significant. The Greeks' contribution to the Indian astronomy and the art of sculpture are gratefully accepted by the Indian literature. But there is no significant contribution of Scythians and Huns to the Indian culture. The same is true of Arabs and Turks.

But in the field of civilisation which is quite distinct from culture insofar as it deals with the external embellishment and comforts of man, changes have been taking place all through this period. The Turks and Moghuls introduced new modes of dress, furniture and food which have enriched Indian life. Urdu language which like tommy English was the name given to the Hindi as spoken in the army camps and courts of the Turkish and Moghul kings was another contribution of the Turks and Moghuls to India. The word Urdu is a Turkish word and its literal meaning is 'army.' Its only distinction from Hindi from whom it has derived all its verbs, which really determine the character of a langu-

age, is that it uses more of Turkish, Arabic and Persian words, nouns and adjectives and is written in Persian script.

Civilisation has never been static and changes in it are natural and inevitable. Today it is the American civilisation which has super-imposed itself on most earlier civilisations including that of India. But the same cannot be said of culture which refers to basic values which influence the spirit as distinct from the body of an individual.

This however does not mean that any culture can claim to be absolutely pure and untouched by other influences. Talk of pure culture is as much a myth as that of a pure race. In course of history, culture also grows through assimilation of various currents. In that sense every culture of the world is a composite culture. There can be no culture more composite than that of USA whose people are made up of immigrants from different and distinct cultural entities of the world. But still no country calls its culture a composite culture because that militates against the unity of the nation. In India the word composite culture was first used by Mr. Jinnah in support of his two-nation theory. He asserted that Muslims of India have a different culture from the rest of the Indian people. Pandit Nehru then reacted to it very strongly. The Muslims of India are mainly converts and not foreigners. According to late Maulana Azad 95 per cent of them are converts. The actual ratio of converts to Muslims of foreign origin may be even higher. The change of way of worship under duress or for other reasons has not changed their forefathers or their culture. Culture is associated with a country and not with a religion. The whole of Europe follows Christianity, but there is a distinct German culture,

French culture and Italian culture. The whole of West Asia is mainly Muslim but there is a distinct Turkish culture, Iranian culture and Arab culture. There is no such thing as Muslim culture or Christian culture in India. There is only one Indian culture which is common to all Indians. It is like the Ganga which having originated from Gangotri in the Himalayas carries the waters of the Jamuna, the Gandak and so many other rivers in its long journey to the sea; but its water remains Ganga water all through. To call Indian culture a composite culture, or a mixture of Hindu and Muslim cultures is as nonsensical as to call Ganga water as Ganga-Jamuna water at Prayag and Ganga-Gandak water at Patna.

This culture and tradition of India which has grown and got enriched in course of history and which has many hues and facets in keeping with the geographical and linguistic diversities, which are essential part of the Indian pattern, constitute the soul of India. It is the combination of the physical body that is the Indian land from the Himalayas to the seas and the Indian soul as reflected in its culture and tradition which has made India a distinct nation.

All Indians to whatever caste, creed, language, sex, sect or way of worship they may belong have a common obligation towards this nation and common rights born out of those obligations. All those who look upon this vast country as their home as distinct from a hotel or a Dharamsala and cherish its culture, tradition and way of life are one people, one nation.

It is wrong to think that any one who is born in India irrespective of his loyalty and emotional attitude towards the country *ipso-facto* became an Indian in the true sense. There are thousands of foreigners living in

India. Sons and daughters are born to them in this country. Legally and technically they may be Indian citizens but it is wrong to expect them to have the same kind of attitude, the same sense of belonging, the same attachment to this country and its culture which other Indians have. Therefore, it is no use taking shelter behind legalistic clitches to confuse the real issue of what makes a man Indian. It is not the birth in India but the Indianness of a man which makes him an Indian.

This Indianness of a man is not determined by one's colour, caste, language, way of worship or political party. It is determined by the mental attitude towards India and all that is distinctive about her as a nation. This is reflected in one's behaviour and conduct, both individual and collective, which in its turn is determined by one's thoughts, motivations and attachments, both intellectual and emotional. People like Mrs. Annie Besant, Sister Nivedita and Mr. Stokes became better Indians and did more for India in our own times than most of those born in India did, even though they had been born and nurtured outside India. On the other hand men like Mr. Jinnah, Liaqat Ali Khan and Kasim Rizvi though born and brought up in India turned out to be India's worst enemies.

Whatever the circumstances and influences that made Mrs. Annie Besant and Mr. Jinnah what they became might have been, one thing is clear that Indianness of a man or a woman is something which is both acquired and inherited. Mrs. Annie Besant acquired it even though she was not born as an Indian. But Mr. Jinnah though born in India of Hindu parents, who got converted to Islam, got so much de-Indianised and de-nationalised for personal and political reasons that he went to the extent of demanding and securing the

vivisection of the Motherland with the assistance of the British rulers of the country.

Creation of this feeling of Indianness in a man through 'Sanskars,' through education and through conscious social and political efforts and policies which might instil in him a sense of identification with India and impel him to place his loyalty to the nation group above loyalty to every other group, religious, social, linguistic or political, to which he may belong is Indianisation. It does not require of any one to give up his attachment to social, religious or other groups to which he may belong. It only aims at moving the nation group higher than any other group in the order of one's priorities and loyalties. Indianisation does not mean that a Muslim should cease to be a Muslim or a Bengali should cease to be a Bengali. It only means that if there is clash between the interests of a State or Province and India as a whole or between interests of a religious community and the country as a whole one should be prepared to sacrifice the interests of his community or province for the sake of national interests. As such Indianisation is another name for creating a strong sense of nationalism, which is the sum total of cohesive forces in any country, in the Indian people.

Nationalism is not a question of political loyalties only. It demands a feeling of attachment and a sense of pride for the country's heritage and culture as well. It has its ramification in the field of thought and action regarding all aspects of a nation's life.

Respect for the national flag, national anthem, national language or languages, national heroes and greatmen, national ethos and values are part of nationalism. Aliens also can be absorbed into the national mainstream through inculcation of these feelings of oneness

and identification with the national homeland, its culture and heritage.

Indianisation, therefore, is nothing but the inculcation of a strong sense of nationalism in all Indians. It is neither something new nor anything sinister. It is something to which no patriotic Indian worth his name can take exception. Those who oppose it either do not understand what India and her heritage is or they deliberately want to create confusion and scare in some groups for political and partisan ends.

India has never stood for conformism of any type. It has all through its history been a land of freedom of thought, conscience and belief. It has never tried to impose any particular form of worship on unwilling people even when it could easily do so. The Syrian-Christians, the Jews and the Parsis who came into India in small groups without any political or economic backing are standing testimony to the Catholicity and all embracing character of Indian culture. "May all be happy without any disease. Let all enjoy prosperity and happiness and none have sorrows or be depressed.'

"सर्वे सन्तु सुखिनः सर्वे सन्तु निरामयाः"

has been the guiding principle of Indian way of life. Indianisation, therefore, is a positive concept. There is nothing narrow, sectarian or iconoclastic about it.

CHAPTER II

INDIANISATION—Why?

THE CALL FOR Indianisation both as a concept and as a programme of action has evoked mixed reaction in the country. While most nationalist and patriotic Indians who have been worried by the growing strength of fissiparous and disruptive forces and tendencies in the country have welcomed it as need of the time, the Communists, their fellow travellers and communalists with extra territorial loyalties, who are mentally afraid of Indian nationalism, are upset by the popular response to this call. They have mounted a bitter attack on this concept and its protagonists. The Government of Mrs. Indira Gandhi being dependent on their support in the Parliament for survival has fallen in line with them. Mrs. Indira Gandhi led the attack on Indianisation in the Parliament by decrying the concept and innocently asking what do you mean by Indianising the Indians? The main object of such critics is to keep Indian nationalism weak. Another motivation of such critics is to create a scare among certain religious groups, particularly Muslims, and pose themselves as their saviour and friend with an eye on their communal support in the elections. With that end in view, they have been misinterpreting Indianisation as a means to eliminate religious minorities and re-convert Muslims and others

to their ancestral faith or faiths.

It is therefore important that the circumstances and situations which have made a campaign for Indianisation an imperative necessity in India of today are clearly spelled out and wrong impressions being created in some sections of the society by interested persons and parties are dispelled.

I

The first thing to be grasped is that Indianisation aims at making every citizen of India a better Indian, a good patriot and a nationalist. Therefore, Indianisation of Indians is as much valid both literally and metaphorically as nationalisation of industries and undertakings which are already national property or humanising the human beings of which poets and philosophers have been talking with such gusto all through the ages. To smell anything ulterior in it is to betray one's lack of Indianness or one's antipathy to anything that may make India a strong and powerful nation. That there are such people in the country who want to weaken and disrupt India and there are forces which are consciously or unconsciously undermining the unity of the country is the greatest justification for propagating the concept and programme for Indianisation in India of today.

As is well known, cohesive and divisive forces do exist in all countries at the same time. If the divisive forces get stronger, and if the cohesive forces are weak and ineffective, disintegration with all its concomitants sets in. Therefore, it has always been the effort of leaders of thought and action in all countries to clearly delineate the divisive and cohesive forces and tendencies operating in their respective lands and devise means

and methods to strengthen the cohesive forces and contain the forces of division. The sum total of the forces of cohesion is known as nationalism.

Both these forces exist in India. Being a vast and ancient country it has a number of languages each one of which is well developed. The Eighth Schedule of Indian Constitution has given official recognition to 15 of them, namely, Sanskrit, Hindi, Kashmiri, Punjabi, Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi, Urdu, Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Malyalam. There is a growing demand for including Dogri, Manipuri and Maithli to this list. These three and many other dialects spoken in different areas of the country have literature of their own and can be well recognised as distinct languages with a definite area of command. All of them excepting the four South Indian languages, namely, Telugu, Tamil, Malyalam and Kannada have been evolved out of Vedic Sanskrit in the course of history. A number of Prakrits like Pali grew out of Sanskrit and the modern Indian languages grew out of these Prakrits. All these languages except Urdu are spoken in distinct and well-defined areas. Urdu is only a style of Hindi with a large induction of words of Persian, Turkish and Arabic origin. Its only real distinction from other Indian languages is that it is written in Persian and not in Indian alphabets which are common to all the other Indian languages. It has no distinct area in which it is spoken as mother-tongue. Having developed as a court and army language during the period of the Turkish and the Mughul rulers, it is used by a section of people in big cities like Delhi and Lucknow, which had been the seats of their governments. It has now been adopted as the State language by the State of Jammu and Kashmir. But it

is doubtful whether it can remain there in that position for long. Kashmiri language has a long history and literature of its own and is bound to get its rightful place sooner or later. The same is true of Dogri.

West Pakistan which today includes West Punjab, Sind, Pakhtoonistan and Baluchistan has adopted Urdu as its official language. But demand for giving Punjabi, Sindhi and Pushto their rightful place in the educational and administrative spheres in those areas is also growing and it can well be predicted that before long these languages will become the state languages of the respective units of West Pakistan just as Bengali has been accepted as the state language of the Eastern wing of Pakistan.

The growth of these different languages and dialects in a vast country like India is nothing surprising. According to the view of ancient Indian masters of linguistics, which is being upheld by the modern scholars as well, a language undergoes some change in accent and pronunciation after every 7 or 8 miles. That is why even within the areas of these 14 recognised languages, a large number of distinct dialects exist which may develop into distinct languages in course of time.

These diverse languages have existed in India for ages past but they did not create the problem of linguism as it exists today for two reasons. Firstly, in spite of this diversity of languages India always had a lingua franca – a common language which was used by the elite who provided the intellectual and cultural leadership in different regions of the country. This role was played by Sanskrit for long centuries till it was replaced by Pali-Prakrit in the days of emperor Ashoka and his successors. The fact that Asokan in-

scriptions spread all over India used the same language and that many other inscriptions to be found all over the country are in Sanskrit point to the fact of universality of these languages in their own times. In fact, even Pali was replaced by Sanskrit as the language of the elite when Mahayana form of Buddhism displaced Hinayana Buddhism in the early centuries of the Christian era. Later the place of Sanskrit and Pali was taken by Hindi in its various forms. It was equally patronised and understood by saints and scholars like Ramanuj, Gianeswar, Nanak, Kabir, Tulsi, Chaitanya and others who hailed from different parts of our vast country.

Therefore, the diversity of languages never acted as a barrier in the way of intellectual inter-course of the elite and free movement of the people within this country. Secondly, the languages had nothing to do with the political structure of the country. There were large number of States ruled over by different kings and dynasties in different parts of the country. But these States were never formed on the basis of language. Most States were multilingual. Sanskrit served as the common link for the scholars and administrators within a State as also between different States. There was a clear distinction in the minds of the people between the kings and rulers who commanded respect in their respective States and the scholars who belonged to the whole country. This fact has been beautifully put by Chanakya in the Artha-Shastra:

स्वदेशे पूज्यते राजा
विद्वान् सर्वत्र पूज्यते ।

This situation continued even after some parts of the country passed under foreign rule. The only difference made by the Turks and Moghuls was that they

replaced Sanskrit by Persian as the language of their courts. The provinces of their empires as of the earlier empires of the Mauriyas and the Guptas were never formed on the basis of language. Administrative convenience or the strategic importance of the area concerned was the main consideration in the demarcation of different provinces. The same tradition was continued by the British when they established their sway over the country.

With the establishment of British hegemony over the whole of India, their language, English, took the place of Persian as the language of courts and inter-provincial contacts on the official level. In the course of time and with the spread of English education an English knowing elite also emerged.

The Indian struggle for freedom from the British rule had to take a different shape and form after the failure of the armed struggle of 1857. It required mass awakening and action in a peaceful way. It took many decades of political education before the movements of Swadeshi, non-cooperation and civil disobedience could be launched with some success. The political awakening, which was a necessary pre-condition for launching of these mass movements, could be created through the people's languages only. The reaction against the imposition of their language by the British rulers also played some part in creating a new awakening about and pride for Indian languages. Revival and use of Indian languages was part of the programme for Swadeshi as well.

The formation of its provincial units by the Indian National Congress on linguistic basis was both the cause and effect of this growing importance of Indian languages as a vehicle of political education and political

action.

As the movement for freedom grew in intensity and as political power began to be transferred to the Indian hands in bits in the provincial sphere, national consciousness began to get mixed up with linguistic consciousness. That was the situation when the British decided to divide India and quit.

The Congress which then became a political party and to which the British handed over the reins of power was suddenly put in a position in which it could be called upon to put its professions into practice. Reorganisation of the States or provinces on the basis of languages was part of the declared policies of the Congress. But the actual realities of the situation which had become even more glaring because of the partition and establishment of a hostile sovereign State in the East and West of the country pointed to the need of strengthening the forces of unity and playing down of those urges which could weaken it. As a realist Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was conscious of the dangers inherent in re-organisation of the States on the basis of language. Furthermore, he was too much absorbed with the task of integration of princely States and their re-grouping into different units to think of anything which might have diverted the attention of the people from that vital work of integrating the country.

But the same could not be said of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who was more of a politician than a statesman. With the death of Sardar Patel in 1950, the only check on his ebullient individualism and craze for cheap popularity, thinly covered by his brave postures about liberalism and internationalism, was gone and he became the supreme arbiter of Indian affairs. So when he decided to concede the demand for linguistic States

nothing could stop them from coming into being.

Once the principle of linguistic States was accepted, the exceptions made by the States Reorganisation Commission in the case of Mahrashtra-Gujarat and Punjab-Haryana could not hold ground for long. They only accentuated the linguistic feelings and aggravated the situation. The violence and bitterness that preceded and followed the formation of some of the linguistic States and the regional pressures that have since been built up in different States have brought the country on the verge of Balkanisation.

Had there been a strong sense of nationalism and had deliberate steps been taken to maintain the wider national consciousness at a time when linguistic and regional consciousness was running riot, the things could have been improved after the abatement of first flush of linguistic enthusiasm. But unfortunately nothing of the sort was done. Even the constitutional provisions about a common national language and common citizenship began to be neglected or tampered with, to appease certain regional leaders.

The safeguards suggested by the S.R.C. to maintain the overall unity of the country which should have been implemented along with the reorganisation of the States on linguistic basis were relegated to the background. With the passage of time their implementation is becoming more and more difficult because of the resistance from the States.

In their first flush of victory the protagonists of linguistic States who all belonged to the ruling Congress Party which came in power in all these States, deliberately encouraged regionalism and linguistic chauvinism. The sense of glory of India began to be subordinated to the glory and greatness of respective lin-

guistic States which began to take the place of Bharat Mata in the hearts and minds of people. Even national leaders like Chhatrapati Shivaji, Maharana Pratap, Guru Govind Singh, Lokmanya Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose began to be provincialised. Celebration of Shivaji Jayanti or Tilak Jayanti became an official function of the Maharashtra Government and celebration of Lajpat Rai Centenary became a special responsibility of Punjab Government and Punjabis living in different parts of the country. Maps of respective States began to be prominently displayed in schools and colleges to the exclusion of the maps of the country as a whole. In short regional consciousness began to take the better of national consciousness.

This provided an opportunity to those who wanted to disrupt the country further. Muslim League again raised its ugly head in Kerala and the Communists, in pursuit of their multi-nation theory, began to work up linguism to red heat. They have since started openly talking of sovereignty of the different States. The talk of every linguistic State having a separate culture and heritage as distinct from the national culture and heritage of India as a whole is part of the sinister game to further divide the country into a number of independent States.

So long as the same party held sway at the Centre and in the States the conflicts and dangers inherent in over-emphasis on regional languages and regional interests did not come before the public so openly. With the political change that came after the general elections of 1967 resulting in establishment of governments of different parties or coalition of parties in different States and the growing dependence of the Government of Mrs. Indira Gandhi at the Centre on such ele-

ments and parties as subscribe more or less to the Communist viewpoint in regard to linguistic nationalism, regionalism and linguism have been assuming dangerous proportions. Some State Governments not only flout the Constitution whenever they can but also openly speak the Communist language of wrecking it. The way Central Government has been using different yardsticks in dealing with different State Governments and the way the Prime Minister has been going about the business of toppling the State Governments which are not to her liking has further corroded the sense of unity and common purpose which is essential for reconciling the interests of the States and the Centre.

The net result of this is that most Indian today are Punjabis or Bengalis or Malyalis first and Indians only next or never.

The very idea of country first, which is the first prerequisite of nationalism, is getting clouded. Over-stress on regional issues and interests even at the cost of national interests is the logical result.

The way anti-national elements in Assam have been exploiting this regional feeling to drive out non-Assamese Hindus with a view to strengthen their own position in that strategic area and prepare the way for its take-over by Pakistan and China at the opportune time is a warning which nationalist India can ignore only at its peril. Similar situations can arise in other States if timely steps are not taken to revive and strengthen the feeling of Indianism and preparedness to subordinate regional interests to the national interest. That is one compelling reason for taking to Indianisation of our people in right earnestness before it becomes too late.

II

Indian people have in the course of their long and chequered history evolved a social structure which is unique in many ways. Caste system as it exists today like many other things in this ancient land has evolved slowly. It began as a division of labour. The 'Purusha Sukta' of the Rigveda which says that Brahmins were born out of the mouth, Kshatriyas out of arms, Vaisyas out of the abdomen and Shudras out of the legs of the Creator clearly points to this original character of caste system. There was no question of anybody being high or low just as no one can say as to which limb of the body is more important. For a body to be healthy all its limbs must be healthy. Every limb performs a set function which is as important in its own way as the function of any other limb for keeping the body healthy and going. Similarly all the castes or divisions of society were considered to be equally important.

The primacy of Brahmin was accepted with the condition that he engaged himself in intellectual pursuit and took a vow of poverty. Intellectual superiority and not material affluence was considered to be the strong point of a Brahmin. Actually some law-makers specifically laid it down that a Brahmin must not accumulate any kind of wealth.

The next place in the system was given to a Kshatriya. The strong point of a Kshatriya was his readiness to fight and even to lay down his life for the defence of the society. Material wealth was not to be his strong point either.

Acquisition of material wealth was the "Dharma" and strong point of Vaishya who was given third place in order of precedence. But law-givers like Shukra

have clearly laid down that Vaishya who uses his wealth only for himself and not for the benefit of the society is worse than a Chandal or Pariah and that one should not take food at his hands.

Shudra embraced the general working class which has always been the majority class in every country and society.

This caste system was not based on birth. Its basis was "guna", "Karma" and "Swabhav"—qualities and aptitude—of an individual. Vedic literature is full of examples of change of caste. Some of the greatest Rishis and scholars of ancient India like Valmiki were born to non-Brahmin parents.

In course of time vested interests grew and birth began to play an increasingly important role in the determination of one's caste. Many new castes emerged in the course of time through the process of induction of new elements into the Aryan society. It helped a good deal in the process of assimilation and Indianisation of foreign elements because they could be put in the appropriate caste in keeping with their status and aptitudes in their original societies. That explains the existence of Hun Kshatriyas and Brahmin Gurjars. The distinction of Kshatriyas and Rajputs can also be traced to this induction of new elements into the Indian society. Caste system thus played a useful role at times in the process of indianisation of foreign elements.

But during the long centuries of foreign rule, the Indian society became stagnant and the same thing happened with caste system. It became more and more rigid. Birth became the sole criteria for determining one's caste. Untouchability and taboos of various types also became prevalent. It is wrong to think that untouchability was practised only by upper castes against

the Shudras. Different sub-castes among the Shudras practised it even more rigidly among themselves. The same is true to some extent even today.

The caste differences and rivalries were exploited by the Arab, Turk and Moghul invaders and rulers too for achieving their political ends. The British did it in a more systematic way. They built the entire structure of their Indian army, particularly after 1857, on caste basis. They worked up Jats against the Vaishyas and Kshatriyas in Punjab and non-Brahmins against Brahmins in South India. Anti-Brahmin feeling became particularly strong in such States and areas where Brahmins, under whatever circumstances and for whatever reason, came to have political power as well.

It was clear to the leaders of modern Indian renaissance right from Maharishi Daya Nand and Raja Ram Mohan Rai that antipathies and conflicts within the Indian society based on caste had been a major cause of Indian failure before foreign invaders in spite of dauntless courage and prowess of Indian soldiers, man to man, as compared to most of the invading hordes. They, therefore, started a campaign against it. Particular attention was paid to uplift of the Shudras and removal of the disabilities from which they suffered because of caste system. Eradication of untouchability has been one of the major planks in all the reform and political movements in India during the last hundred years. Mahatma Gandhi made the work of uplift of Harijans and removal of caste barriers as a passion of his life. Specific mention of eradication of untouchability and creation of casteless and classless society in the Constitution of India also points to the importance attached to this work by the architects of our freedom and founding fathers of the Indian Constitution.

But it is a painful fact that casteism has become more pronounced rather than getting weakened during the twenty-two years of freedom. There are many reasons for it.

The most important of them is the exploitation of caste for political purposes by the political leadership and parties. To secure the group or bloc vote of different castes and subcastes in the elections, political parties and candidates, with few honourable exceptions, have played havoc with Indian society. Political parties in general have become so casteridden and caste considerations have become so important in selecting candidates, campaigners and ministers in the Indian political system that caste has become the dominant factor in Indian politics. The worst part of it is that those who talk of socialism and classless society have become the main protagonists of caste system. A study in depth of the Presidential election of 1969 in which Mrs. Indira Gandhi got her own party candidate defeated would be rewarding from this point of view. Most of the State Governments as also the Central Government have been constituted on caste basis and are sustained through manipulation of the caste loyalties of the legislators.

As a result casteism is tending to become as great if not greater danger to Indian unity as regionalism. Today most Indians are either Jats, or Brahmins or Rajputs or Harijans first and Indians afterwards.

The reservations given to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Constitution have created vested interests in the perpetuation of caste system. Before such reservations came, there was going on an imperceptible process of change of castes. The people belonging to lower castes tried to upgrade their social status with

the improvement in their economic and educational condition. As a result many a person of such castes as Chamars, Jatavs, etc., had begun to call themselves Varmas, the general surname for Kashatriyas. Many caste and tribal groups like Jats, Marathas and Gonds had been similarly accepted as Kshatriyas in the past.

Now the process has been reversed. Some people born in higher castes go about seeking false certificates to the intent that they belong to lower castes so that they may get a job or other benefits out of the reserved share of Scheduled Castes and Tribes.

The malady is so deep-rooted that it follows a man even if he becomes a convert to Christianity or Islam which claim to be free from the caste system. Since most of the Muslim and Christian Indians happen to be converts, caste divisions among them also are quite acute even though they try to overcome them by rousing communal passions to a greater extent at the time of elections. These caste antipathies are also being exploited by anti-national and anti-social elements to weaken Indian unity. The inroads made by pro-Pakistan elements into the Republican Party in Uttar Pradesh to secure the support of Harijans for their anti-national designs is a typical case of such exploitation of caste feeling by anti-national elements.

Consciousness of their own powers of votes in the lower but more numerous sections of society and their assertion of it has created new tensions in the countryside. The upper castes, particularly Brahmins and Rajputs who together with the business community had the monopoly of power in most States so far, are slow in appreciating the change which is coming very fast. That party explains frequent reports of cruelties being perpetrated against Harijans in some States.

This situation if not handled tactfully and imaginatively may create a very difficult and dangerous situation for the country, particularly in the strategic areas like Assam and Bengal, where Communists have been making a determined bid to take up the leadership of such backward sections of society.

Apart from political considerations, even from the purely human point of view eradication of artificial distinctions based on caste and discrimination that goes with such distinctions is a must if India is to exist and grow as one nation. This can be possible only if social motivation and loyalties which may transcend caste loyalties are created and people belonging to different castes and social groups are made to feel and behave as equal partners in the nations life. That is why Indianisation is need of the hour in the social field as well.

III

India has been a land of freedom of thought and tolerance from the very dawn of her history. Conformism of any kind, religious or political, is alien to her genius and culture.

As a result different schools of philosophy, forms of government and ways of worship have co-existed in it all through the history. When the fanatical Muslim rulers like Aurangzeb tried to go against this basic characteristic of Indian mind, there was popular reaction which finished the Moghul empire itself. Theists and atheists, spiritualists and materialists, Shaivas and Vaishnavas, Buddhists and Jains have flourished here side by side with full freedom to preach their viewpoints and convert others to their line of thinking and way of worship. The leaders of all these schools of thought and forms of worship enjoyed respect of the

people whether they followed them or not. Even Charwak, the Indian precursor of Karl Marx, has been accepted as a Rishi in the Indian tradition.

Naturally, therefore, quite a number of forms of worship flourished side by side in this country without in any way harming the unity of the country. That is why when Jews and Syrian Christians, even though they did not have that tradition of tolerance for and co-existence with other forms of worship, first came into Kerala region of India, the rulers and people of Kerala gave them full protection and freedom of worship. It had its effect on them. They developed the same eclectic outlook on matters of spirit and became one with the Indian society while preserving their distinct forms of worship and religious beliefs. The same thing happened with Parsis who first came to Gujarat region of India in the 7th century A.D. Their distinct way of worship and religious beliefs have been fully respected and preserved by their Indian co-patriots all these centuries. The Parsis in their turn have adjusted themselves with the country and society of their adoption so well that they have become a classic example of Indianisation in practice. Even the British who were past masters in the technique of divide and rule could not drive a wedge between Parsis and the rest of the Indian society in spite of their worst efforts.

This situation was changed by the advent of Islam in this country. Apart from the fact that it came to India on the wings of foreign invaders one of whose main motivation was spread of Islam in this country, its very character was anti-thesis of Indian thinking and attitude in regard to religion. Unlike the numerous forms of worship and systems of thought that co-existed in India at that time, it stood for a monolithic unifor-

mity and conformism. It had no tolerance for any other form of worship. It not only aimed at converting all the Indians to Islam, on the point of the sword if necessary, but also expected such converts to reject their pre-Islamic past and ancestors. According to George Sale's translation of Quran, which is considered to be a revealed book by Muslims, it is not permissible for the Prophet and ture believers to pray for the idolators knowing that they have gone to hell (having died as kafirs) even though they may be blood relations.

The Muslim invaders looked upon the people of this country as kafirs or heretics. All those who worship God or Goddesses other than the Quranic God are considered to be kafirs and it is the duty of every true Muslim to launch Jehad (religious war) against kafirs.[1]

No wonder, therefore, that both the Muslim Arabs and Turks who brought Islam into India behaved towards the Indian people in a most barbaric manner. They destroyed temples and libraries and indulged in most heinous type of vandalism. Their cruelty and harshness towards Indian kafirs knew no bounds. When Mahmud of Ghazni saw the temples of Mathura he was so much wonder-struck by their splendour, magnificence and art that he exclaimed that they must have been built not by men but by angles who must have taken centuries to complete them. But his Islamic zeal impelled him to raze them to ground. Indians who had been accustomed to wars in which the women, the old, the children, the peasants were left untouched and who had never seen temples and other places of worship being desecrated or destroyed like

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1. *Indianisation of Muslims—a difficult problem* by Dr. A. L. Srivastava, D.Litt.. Emeritus Professor of History, Agra University, Published in *Panchjanya* of April 6, 1970.

this felt aghast at the conduct of the new invaders.

In the words of Professor Habib, Islam was thus "condemned without a hearing" in India. People judged it by the conduct of its votaries which was detestable from Indian norms and standards.

Mutual adjustments between the Muslim invaders and forcible converts to Islam and the rest of Indian society were made further difficult by the Islamic taboo on marriage with non-Muslims. According to George Sale's translation Quran exhorts the believers to not to marry idolatrous women until they put faith in the Prophet. It is better to marry a slave girl than a woman you like if she is an idolator. And do not give a believer woman in marriage to an idolator unless he puts faith in me because even though you may have a liking for an idolator but a slave who believes in Islam is much better than him.[1]

These Quranic injunctions explain the laws in Malaysia and other Islamic countries according to which no Muslim girl can marry a non-Muslim boy or vice versa unless the non-Muslim boy or girl, as the case may be, embraces Islam. Even Dr. Zakir Hussain did not permit his grand-daughter to marry a non-Muslim, Mr. Mishra, with whom she had fallen in love until the latter became a Muslim. This explains the notorious declaration of Maulana Mohammed Ali, the President of All-India Congress Committee in 1923 that for him "a goonda and an adulterer Muslim was thousand times superior to Mahatma Gandhi."

In spite of this exclusive and intolerant character of the new invaders towards the people of this country, they did not remain uninfluenced by the Indian genius for assimilation.

1. George Sale's *Quran* p. 31.

Those who got converted to Islam under duress or economic pressure–and they mainly belonged to the weaker elements among the upper classes of India who succumbed to pressure to save their lands, property and titles–soon began to act as a bridge between Islam and Indian way of life. The Indian atmosphere began to influence foreign Muslims as well.

Sufism and the poetic compositions in Hindi of a number of Sufi poets like Malik Mohammud Jaysi in which they presented Islam and Mohammed as one of the various ways to reach the eternal truth in typical Indian spirit marked the happy beginning of Indianisation of Islam. His well-known words in Padmavat–

हिन्दू तुरक दुवौ भए, अपने अपने दीन।"

"Hindus and Turks have their respective faiths" which must be respected by both is a typical example of the Indian influence on Islam. It should be marked that Jayasi used the word Turk for Muslims to distinguish them from Hindus, the people of this land. These words are used in this sense in the entire Indian literature of the medieval times. Even now Muslims are known as Turks or Turkadas in some parts of India. This points to the foreign origin of Islam and explains why even the Indian converts to Islam began to be looked upon as such.

While this imperceptible process of Indianisation of Islam was going on, the mullah class as custodian of Islamic orthodoxy and rigidity backed by the Muslim Sultans continued their pressure for the spread of Islam and eradication of idolatry from India. As their pressure increased and as more and more area came under the control of Muslim rulers, the leaders of Indian society adopted defensive armour of shunning everything Islamic to save the Hindu society from being engulfed

by it. That was the beginning of the process opposite to that of Indianisation which created a touch-me-not attitude among the Hindus towards Islam and its votaries both foreign and Indian. This defensive armour did serve its purpose well during the period of Muslim dominance.

But like non-violence of Gandhiji which began as a strategy and ended up as a creed, this defensive armour adopted as a matter of strategy when the Hindu society could not stand up to political, military and economic pressure of foreign Islamic rulers became a creed for a decadent society which had ceased to grow and had lost its genius for adjustment and assimilation. As a result even when Islam ceased to have political backing and many who had succumbed to Islam under pressure wanted to come back to their ancestral faith and forms of worship found the doors of Hindu society shut on them. This made some of them more bitter towards Hindu society and made them fanatic Muslims. Such was the case with Kala Pahar, the Bengali Prince, who turned Muslim when Brahmins refused him permission to marry the Muslim princess who was prepared to renounce Islam to be able to marry him. The revenge he took on his ancestral society is well-known. The Muslim majority in East Bengal is mainly due to him.

But, in spite of the rigidness of Brahmins who not only refused but fiercely resisted the re-absorption of the Muslims in their ancestral society as in Kashmir,[1]

1. Muslims of Kashmir jointly approached Maharaja Ranbir Singh with the request that since their ancestors had been converted to Islam by force against their will, they be allowed to come back to their old society. Maharaja Ranbir Singh agreed. But some Kashmiri Pandits threatened him that they would commit suicide if he acceded to that request. The Maharaja surrendered before this threat and refused this request of his Muslim subjects. But for this rigidity of Kashmiri Brahmins, there would have been no Kashmir problem today.

it must be said to the credit of Indian Muslims that most of them continued to follow the Hindu way of life in all respects till the British policy of divide and rule, the Pan-Islamic efforts of Shah Wali Ullah and his successors and Gandhiji's involvement in Khilafat movement threw them into the lap of Mullahs of Deoband and thoroughly denationalised Muslim intelligentsia produced by Aligarh Muslim University under the guidance of its British patrons.

It would be, however, wrong to put all the blame on the British. They could work up separatist feelings among the Indian Muslims and cut them off from the national struggle for freedom because the seeds of separatism and bitter memories of the past already existed.

Partition of India in 1947 on the basis of two-nation theory propounded by the Muslim League marked the end of the long process of adjustment and Indianisation of Muslims in India. It marked the reversal of the whole trend of Indian history. But it did not solve the problem which it was supposed to solve. About 20 million Hindus remained in Pakistan and 35 million Muslims were left back in truncated India. Exchange of these left over Hindu and Muslim population which, according to late Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, was the logical corollary of partition, might have solved the problem for good. But that solution did not commend itself to the leaders of the Congress party for two reasons. Firstly, most of them were victims of self-deception. They thought that Muslim League having got Pakistan and the British having left the country for good, there would be no agents provocateur and so Muslims left in India will forget Pakistan and two nation theory on the bases of which it was created and settle down to

peaceful life as part of the Indian nation. The second reason which made some of them deliberately turn a blind eye to the lessons of partition was the prospect of bagging all the votes of the Muslims left in India for the Congress Party. They knew that betrayal of India by them by accepting the partition would cost them many of the nationalist votes. To offset that expected loss they decided to retain and woo the Muslims left back in India.

This thinking and approach of the Congress leadership gave a new start to communal politics which had just then culminated in the partition of the country. The murder of Mahatma Gandhi by Shri Nathu Ram Godse came handy to this section of the Congress leadership. It exploited that tragedy fully to put through and secure acceptance for its point of view which was now cloaked under high sounding slogans about secularism and Gandhism. The general reaction against this dastardly murder forced the critics of this neo-communalism of the Congress, some of whom had already been put in jail, to lie low.

The Congress Party got good dividends out of this policy. It was the solid Muslim vote and a divided opposition which enabled it to win majorities in the State and Central legislatures in the general elections of 1952, 1957 and 1962. It is significant that Congress never secured more than 44 per cent of the total polled votes in these elections of which nearly 10 per cent used to be Muslim votes.

The Congress example soon began to affect other parties particularly those which had splintered out of it. This situation put a new premium on communal separatism. Other religious groups did not take long to learn the lessons of this new trend in Indian politics. Com-

munalism, therefore, started raising its ugly head in all parts of the country with a vengeance.

In their craze for communal votes to win elections most of the parties began to ignore or overlook the danger signals which came to light time and again.

The role of Pakistan as self-appointed friend, philosopher and guide of the Muslim Indians added new dimensions to the problem.

The Sino-Pak alliance that came in the wake of Sino-Indian conflict of 1962 gave a new direction to Muslim politics in India. Muslims began to shift their loyalty from the Congress to the Communists. The Indo-Pakistan war of 1965 and the role of Communist Russia at Tashkent further strengthened that trend. Shift in Russian policy regarding Kashmir and its decision to arm Pakistan was a clear direction for both the Communists and those Muslims who still looked to Pakistan for guidance.

The alliance between Communist and pro-Pak Muslims in Indian politics which was clearly revealed by the general elections of 1967 and mid-term elections of 1969 is a corollary of Sino-Pak alliance and Russo-Pak detente. An ex-top official of the Home Ministry of the Government of India who had full information at his command warned the author as early as September, 1968, that it would be wrong to think that this alliance was confined to Kerala or West Bengal only. This, he added, was an all India alliance and its intellectual centre was Aligarh Muslim University. His reply to the query why had he not informed the Government about it was even more disconcerting. As a civil servant, he replied, he could only collect the information, draw his conclusions and place them before the Government. But Government was guided by its own considerations

of power and party politics. Therefore, it did not pay heed to the facts and their implications. It was for the nationalist and democratic parties, he concluded, to take note of this reality and take concerted steps to save democracy and national unity from being blown up by this sinister alliance with outside backing.

The dangerous communal twist that the Congress rulers gave to Indian politics soon after partition of the country on the basis of two-nation theory has been affecting other religious groups and communities as well. They too have become conscious of the importance of their block vote and have started playing communal politics on that strength. The emergence of Christian pressure groups in Assam hills, Nagaland and Jharkhand area of Bihar and re-emergence of Akali Dal as a major factor in Punjab politics are more glaring examples of this phenomenon.

The conditions of political instability created by the split in the Congress in the wake of its debacle in 1967 and 1969 elections has given a new boost to communalism and communal politics in the country. The ruling Congress faction needs every vote for its survival. Therefore, even smaller religious and caste groups have their value for it.

Apart from vitiating the entire political atmosphere in the country it has revived the communal aggressiveness of a section of Muslim leadership reminiscent of pre-1947 days. The encouragement they have received from the ruling Congress Party and the Communist parties together with the growing influence of Pakistani agents working through Muslim League, Jamaat-i-Islami and Ithad-ul-Musalmin which were in the forefront of the fight for Pakistan has added to their communal chauvinism. The spate of communal riots during the

last three years which have been invariably initiated by such elements among Muslims, as has been conclusively proved by the survey of the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of India, coupled with the new demands for another partition of India on communal lines put forth by Pakistani leaders like Mr. Bhutto, the Indian Muslim Association of London in its Memorandum to the Indian High Commissioner there and suggestions about creating Muslim majority zones or States in India put forth by a section of Muslim press have created a situation which demands serious and urgent consideration by all nationalist Indians. Unless this growing communalism is checked and people following different religions learn to subordinate their loyalty to their respective religious groups to the supreme loyalty to the nation, there is no future for India. That is another reason why Indianisation is the need of the hour.

IV

As said above the political parties have been more guilty than anybody else for reviving and strengthening separatist and fissiparous trends in the country. Existence of a number of political parties is as much a reality as the existence of different languages, castes and religious groups. Unlike castes and communities which one may like to do away with, political parties have to be there if parliamentary democracy is to function in this country. Of course their number needs to be cut down through a process of polarisation.

Unfortunately, political parties too are tending to become new castes in India. They too are dividing the society into water-tight compartments and have begun to work up emotions of their supporters on the lines of religious communities and caste groups. They too have

been subordinating national interests to their party interests. In fact they have set the pattern in this regard for other groups to follow. They have encouraged casteism, linguism and communalism. The emergence of political parties on communal, caste and regional basis is the natural result of the over-emphasis put on caste, religion and region even by the so-called national parties. Therefore lack of national outlook among the parties and political leaders and their tendency to place personal and partisan interests above the wider interests of the country is another grave danger to national unity. The very fact that Indian political parties are still quarrelling about the definition and content of Indian nationalism is a proof of the absence of national feeling among many of them. The need for checking their divisive effect on the nation's life is therefore another reason why Indianisation is a must for survival of India as a Nation.

V

Lack of a strong sense of nationalism is not only reflected in the growing strength of the divisive forces of linguism, regionalism, casteism and communalism but it has also resulted in intensification of mental slavery which came with foreign rule. This is particularly true of the intellectual elite and the upper classes of the society which dominate and control the apparatus of power in the name of the people. In the name of modernism, progressivism, socialism, and secularism everything Indian has come under a cloud.

So long as the British ruled over the country they never made a secret of their plans and intention to create a class of Macaulay's Indians to maintain their hold on the country. It is true that some of the most

anglicised Indians like those belonging to the Nehru family were drawn to politics of freedom under the influence of Gandhiji. But their faith in and preference for English or European ways of life and thinking persisted even though outwardly they adjusted themselves to the prevailing atmosphere. That is why Gandhiji used to say that main difference between him and Jawaharlal Nehru was that while he wanted Englishism to go even though the English may continue for some time, Nehru wanted Englishism to stay while the English should go. That was a basic difference of approach between the two giants which did not attract much notice during the struggle for freedom because of Gandhiji's concentration on the one issue of winning freedom. Had Gandhiji lived longer this difference in their outlook would surely have come to the surface in the formulation of social, economic and other policies of free India.

The absence of a really Indian approach is more clearly visible in the fields of economics and education. There are certain realities of the Indian situation which are quite different from those existing in the U.S.A., U.S.S.R. or other countries of the West. For example both U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. have plenty of land, excess of capital and shortage of labour. Their economy therefore perforce has to be capital intensive. India on the other hand has shortage of land and capital and excess of man-power, about 80 per cent of which lives in villages and is sustained by agriculture.

These realities demanded that India should have followed labour intensive economic policies with stress on more production of food and consumer goods, creation of more employment potential with greater attention to agriculture and rural areas. Had this been

done and had the lot of the common man been improved, it would have given fillip to entire economy and generated both the resources for the development of heavy industry and purchasing power to sustain and expand it. This was what Gandhiji wanted. That is why this approach to economic problems is sometimes described as Gandhian economics.

But Pandit Nehru was so enchanted by the economic progress of the West and so obsessed with romantic ideas about socialism and planning as propounded by Marx and Lenin and was so much cut off from the actual realities of Indian life that he made a total mess of Indian economy during 18 years of his stewardship. The havoc wrought by unrealistic economic policies of the Nehru dynasty can be best judged by a survey of the living conditions of the general mass of our people after twenty-two years of freedom. Because of easily available foreign aid and loans and fast generation of printing press finance, a large part of which has been used for unproductive things, the country has come in the grip of terrible inflation which has increased the prices of commodities of daily use by more than 400 per cent since freedom. As a result the comman man whose income has not kept pace with the soaring prices is finding his life much more hard than it was in 1947.

Instead of going deep into the causes of this economic malady more and more socialism is being inducted into Indian economy. It is little realised that for Communists and their fellow-travellers who are the main protagonists of socialism in India, it is primarily a means to establish a totalitarian regime in the country. That is why they insist upon bringing of all means of production and distribution under the control of the State in the name of socialism. To make all citizens

dependent on the State for their living is the main aim of their socialism. Once that is done, thought can be regimented and dissent can be crushed without much difficulty. The welfare of the common man has nothing to do with their brand of socialism. That is why they refuse to accept countries like Israel, Sweden and West Germany which also claim to be socialist but where socialism does not mean state control of the entire economy under a dictatorship but means provision of a minimum standard of living to all citizens while preserving their democratic liberties and institutions, as socialist countries. The trumpeters of socialism in India denounce them as capitalist countries. The only socialist countries for them are the Communist countries like Russia and China.

Therefore, there is urgent need for Indianisation of our economic thinking and policies. There is nothing wrong in borrowing from other peoples' experience. But the experience of only those who have comparable conditions can be of any help. That is why President V. V. Giri has commended Japanese example if jobs have to be found for unemployed millions of Indians. Japan is even more densely populated than India. But rising from the shambles of Hiroshima in 1944, the progress she has made in all spheres while preserving the democratic institutions is a marvel of the present day world. India can profitably draw upon her experience. But the mental slavery of Indian leadership which looks upon everything with American or Russian eyes has stood in the way of reorientation of our economic thinking and policies. Indianisation in the economic field therefore also is a need of the hour.

VI

Our educational system has been patterned after the British system. Lord Macaulay who laid its foundation in India had such contempt for Indians and their heritage that he wrote that all the learning of India was not comparable to the knowledge stored in one shelf of the British Museum Library.

This system was declaredly devised to create a class of Indians who should be English in thought and behaviour and who should provide material for manning the lower rungs of the British administrative machine in India. The British, therefore, saw to it that the superiority of the West in all fields of knowledge and thought was impressed upon the Indian students. They introduced British laws which were based on Roman laws and therefore legal education and jurisprudence introduced by them was completely based on Roman jurisprudence. Not a word of Indian jurisprudence, which in some respects is even more developed and modern than anything that Roman or Western jurisprudence has to provide, was included in the courses of study of law.

It is well-known that laws and jurisprudence of a country reflect its values, civilisation and socio-economic thinking. It is therefore essential that legal education and legal system be Indianised.

In the field of medicine, allopathy has come to occupy the seat of power to the utter neglect of Indian systems of medicine. It is only when the Europeans and Americans praise the efficacy of some Ayurvedic drug that it comes to have some respect with the powers that be in India. Indian graduates of medicine swear by Hypocritees, the Greek physician. But few of them

have any knowledge of Dhanwantri, Charak, Shushrat and other masters of medicine and surgery produced by India. Why should an Indian medical graduate not swear by Charak or Dhanwantri instead of Hypocritees and why should some grounding in Ayurveda not form an essential part of medical studies in India?

Domination of English in the curricula of Indian schools and colleges to the neglect of Indian languages and exclusion of other foreign languages which have a greater relevance and importance for pursuit of certain branches of knowledge is another example of continued de-Indianisation of Indian education even after freedom.

Therefore the concept and programme of Indianisation is not a narrow one. It embraces all sections of society and all fields of national activity. As such it applies to almost all Indians, more or less, irrespective of their caste, creed or language. Every one of us has to learn to become a better Indian in thought and action.

VII

But Indianisation of certain sections of our society is more urgent in view of the immediate dangers to the unity and integrity of the country.

The first in the order of priority of such elements come the Communists. It is true that they are today apparently divided in three camps – CPI, CPI (Marxist) and CPI (Marxist-Leninist) better known as Naxalites. But as was pointed out by Shri Indarjit Gupta of the CPI in the Lok Sabha, CPI (M.L.) has come out of the womb of CPI (M) as CPI (M) has come out of the womb of CPI. CPI in its turn came into existence as an extension of the Communist Party of Soviet Union.

According to the Communist ideology the workers

of the world are one and class struggle is the basis of all human progress. It is like a monolithic religion with a book and a dogma but without God. It is as intolerant and exclusive as any other monolithic religion ever was. Till recently the basic loyalty of every Communist was supposed to be towards Soviet Union, the holy land of Communism, and nationalism was considered to be a reactionary and bourgeois concept.

But with the reassertion of Russian nationalism during the second World War which was then considered to be "the most amazing social phenomenon of Sovietism" and "a fresh and unexpected testimony to the power of nationality in our times"[1] a new phase of communism began.

This revival of Russian nationalism had its repercussions in other parts of the Communist world as well. Chinese nationalism of Communist China soon came in clash with Russian nationalism of Soviet Union. The clash of personalities and clash of national interests which impelled both of them to have undisputed sway over non-Russian and non-Chinese Central Asia aggravated the situation. The Communist monolith got split in two broad camps with centres at Moscow and Peking under the leadership of Khrushchev and Mao-tse-Tung.

The split in international Communist movement has split the Communist Parties in most countries in two factions. The same has happened in India too. The differences between CPI and CPI(M) are only a reflection of differences between Soviet Union and Communist China and their respective Communist Parties. Their objective is the same. But sources of inspiration

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1. *Mother Russia* by Maurice Hindus.

and support have become different.

Parliamentary activities have no place in Communist methodology to capture power. But since the Communist Party of India felt that it would be cut off from the political life of the country if it did not take part in parliamentary politics, it decided soon after freedom to fight elections and have a parliamentary wing added to its apparatus. The influence of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who was considered by the Communists to be their tacit ally in Indian politics also played some part in their taking such a decision.

But this annoyed some of the more doctrinnaire and extremist sections of the Communist Party who began to come more and more under the Chinese influence. As the split between Soviet Union and Communist China got widened, the split in Communist Party of India also became more open. The pro-Chinese section which later came to be known as CPI(M) to begin with denounced the CPI as revisionist because it had taken to parliamentary politics and therefore had lost all revolutionary fervour.

But prospects of winning elections and attaining power through them soon drew CPI(M) also into the vortex of parliamentary politics. The compulsion of parliamentary politics forced it also to change its public postures, and conduct.

This gave birth to the third Communist Party CPI(ML) which wanted to maintain its revolutionary fervour by keeping off from parliamentary politics and concentrating on preparations for an armed struggle. Since CPI(M) after having entered legislatures could not own up its links with Communist China openly, that role began to be played by CPI(ML). There is a widespread feeling based on circumstantial and other

evidence that CPI(ML) is only a front organisation of CPI(M).

That all these three factions of the Communist Party of India have extra-territorial loyalties is an indisputable fact of Indian politics. While CPI openly plays the role of a Russian agency in India, CPI(M) and CPI(ML) play to the tune of Mao-tse-Tung directly and indirectly. The CPI(ML) which has also come to be known as Naxalite group of the Communist Party is more outspoken in its allegiance to Peking and militant in action.

It has made no secret of its intention to create a liberation army of peasants and workers and stage an armed revolution in the country on the model of Communist revolution in China. The streaks of Cultural Revolution of Communists China also can be seen in its planned attacks on Gandhi Libraries, tearing and burning of pictures of Mahatma Gandhi and literature dealing with his philosophy of nonviolent action.

Along with this systematic denigration of Gandhi, who has held sway all these years over people's minds, the image of Mao-tse-Tung is systematically being built up as the new Messiah. Mao's thought, Mao pictures and Maoist slogans are being popularised in all possible ways particularly in the University campuses of West Bengal and neighbouring areas.

It goes to the credit of Communists that they have never concealed their extra-territorial loyalties and their intention to wreck the Indian Constitution and establish a totalitarian Communist regime in India. The only basic difference between them is that while CPI would like a Red India to be a satellite of Soviet Union, the other factions would like it to be a part of the expanding empire of Mao-tse-Tung.

It is, therefore, obvious that the need for Indianisation of the Communists is the greatest and most urgent if this country is not to lose its freedom and identity as a nation.

It is a pity that Indian political leaders and intellectuals are generally ignorant of Communist ideology and methodology. In their misplaced liberalism and emotional antipathy for the USA and erstwhile colonial powers of the West, they have developed notions about Communist countries and communism which have no relation with facts. It is wrong to call Communists as progressive. A progressive mind is one which is open and which is prepared to judge things on merit without any dogmatic inhibitions. The mind of Communists is closed. It is bound hand and foot to the four walls of Marxist dogma and philosophy. That explains the double standards of Communists regarding all national and international issues. If Communist China and its allies occupy Tibet or South Vietnam and commit genocide there, it is liberation. But if a non-communist country goes to the help of any country to save it from being overrun by the foreign Communist armies, it becomes aggression.

Nor are the Communist countries a heaven for the common man. Their socialism which means state control of all means of production and distribution is a step towards statism and establishment of totalitarian regimes and not towards welfare of the people. Actually the so-called socialist policies of the Government of India as reflected in over-emphasis on nationalisation of trade, banking and industry have widened the gulf between the rich and the poor and made the lot of the common people more pitiable than before. The same is true of fullfledged Communist countries.

The standard of living of the common man in West Germany, France and Britain is much higher than in East Germany, Poland or USSR.

Therefore, Communists are not only a danger to national unity and democratic liberties of the people, they pose the greatest threat to the economic health of the country as well. In their blind adoration of Soviet Union and China they have mortgaged their bodies and souls to them. Therefore, their re-education and redemption through Indianisation has become an imperative necessity.

VIII

Then there are those Communalists who place their loyalty to their religious group above everything else. They are no less dangerous than the Communists and need to be Indianised on priority basis. Most notorious and dangerous of such communalists is that section of the Muslim community which fought for the partition of the Motherland before 1947 and which continues to look towards Pakistan for guidance and inspiration even twenty-two years after freedom.

As explained earlier, there are a number of reasons for the wayward behaviour and extra-territorial loyalties of this section of Muslims. Stress of Islam on renouncing and rejecting non-Muslim ancestors and heritage after a man is converted to Islam and its antipathy to the concept of territorial nationalism in which respect for past heroes and heritage plays a significant part is one major reason for it.

The second major reason is the continuance of the leadership of Muslim Indians in the hands of those who led the Muslim League movement for partition of India before 1947. As Shri Hamid Dalvi has clearly brought

out in his fine study of "Muslim politics in India," Jamiat-ul-Ulema which claims to have opposed partition had ulterior motives. It wanted the whole of India to be made into a Pakistan and therefore was opposed to confining Muslim power to only a part of India. That explains the communal and separatist tone of Jamiat-politics and its press since freedom.

Aligarh Muslim University was the main intellectual centre of Anglo-Muslim alliance in pre-1947 India. It was from the British Principal of this seat of learning that the inspiration came for the command performance of Agha Khan in 1906 which introduced the poison of separate electorates in Indian politics of which Partition was the direct result. The entire campaign for Pakistan all over the country was masterminded in Aligarh.[1] That is why most of the students and staff of Aligarh Muslim University migrated to Pakistan after partition. It was a grave blunder on the part of the Government of India not to have accepted the suggestion to exchange the campus of Aligarh Muslim University with the campus of the D.A.V. institutions in Lahore. The D.A.V. campus in Lahore was bigger than the Aligarh campus and D.A.V. institutions had greater number of students on their rolls. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru too was conscious of this unhealthy and anti-national role of Aligarh. It is why he put some pertinent questions to its staff and students in the course of his Convocation Address in 1948.

"I have said that I am proud of our inheritance and our ancestors who gave an intellectual and cultural pre-eminence to India. How do you feel about this past?" he asked them and added, "Do you feel that

1. *Pathways to Pakistan* by Khaliq-uz-Zaman.

you are also sharers in it and inheritors of it and, therefore, are proud of something that belongs to you as much as to me. Or do you feel alien to it and pass it by without understanding it or feeling that strange thrill which comes from the realisation that we are the trustees and inheritors of this vast treasure? I ask you these questions because in the recent years many forces have been at play diverting people's mind into wrong channels and trying to pervert the course of history. You are Muslims and I am a Hindu. We may adhere to different religious faiths or even to none, but that does not take away from that cultural inheritance that is yours as well as mine. The past holds us together, why should the present or future divide us in spirit?"

"Political changes produce certain results but essential changes are in the spirit and outlook of a nation. What has troubled me very greatly during these past months and years is not the political changes, but rather the creeping sense of change of spirit which has created enormous barriers between us. The attempt to change the spirit of India was a reversal of the historical process through which we had been passing for long ages past and it is because we tried to reverse the current of history that disaster overwhelmed us. We cannot easily play about with geography or with powerful trends which make history...."

"Your minds are probably in a fluid state at present not knowing which way to look and what to do. All of us have to be clear about our basic allegiance to certain ideas. Do we believe in a national state which includes people of all religions and shades of opinion and is essentially secular as a State, or do we believe in the religious theocratic conception of a State which

regards people of other faiths as something beyond the pale"?

"Whatever confusion the present may contain, in the future India will be a land, as in the past, of many faiths equally honoured and respected but of one national outlook."[1]

It is a pity that these pertinent questions put by Pandit Nehru to the Muslim intelligentsia have remained unanswered all these years. The common culture and inheritance of which Pandit Nehru talked so eloquently continues to be something of an anathema to them. Instead of creating respect for the Indian inheritance and bringing Muslims into the national mainstream, systematic efforts are being made at Aligarh and elsewhere to completely insulate the Muslim mind from Indian life and thought, cultural tradition and other influences that could remove the canker of two-nation theory from their minds.

This Aligarhi spirit is being carried to the Muslim masses by the Jamaat-i-Islami. This is an international organisation of Islamic orthodoxy headed by Maulana Maudidi of Pakistan. It aims at establishment of a government run strictly according to the dictates of Quran and Shariat. Its anachronistic attitude to socio-economic matters and its stress on Islamic internationalism or Pan-Islamism as against terriorial nationalism has made it suspect in most Islamic countries in which nationalism has become a force. Even the Government of Pakistan looks upon it with suspicion and is opposed to its growing influence in Pakistan. But, thanks again to the false notions of secularism and communal politics of the ruling Congress Party and its allies in India,

1. *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches*, Vol. I, pp. 337-339.

this organisation has been getting encouragement and spreading its poison amongst Indian Muslims with impunity. It has now become the most powerful organisation of Muslims in India. Jamiat-ul-Ulema which lost its most important political prop after the death of Maulana Azad is steadily being pushed in the background by Jamaat-i-Islami. It has now become the backbone of revived Muslim League and Majlis-e-Mushawarat, a confederation of all the Muslim organisations of India. It has adopted the most modern propaganda methods and seems to have command of unlimited funds. A cursory look on its Urdu and English organs like "Dawat" and "Radiance" is enough to get an idea of the motivations and objectives of this organisation whose chief Maulana Maudidi issued a Fatwa for all Muslims to side with Pakistan during Indo-Pak war of 1965.

Even more important than all these factors for separatism among a section of Indian Muslims is the sinister influence of Pakistan. Pakistan was built on hatred for India and Hindus and it is sustained by it. Since most of the Muslims of Pakistan too are converts and have the same cultural heritage as their non-Muslim compatriots, the rulers of Pakistan are fully conscious that the partition of India is as unnatural as that of Germany, Korea, Vietnam and Ireland. They are clear in their minds that partition can last only so long as India and Pakistan remain at loggerheads. Once Pakistan learns to coexist with India in peace and friendship, the forces of unity are bound to assert themselves sooner or later. Therefore it is the cardinal policy of Pakistan since its very inception to keep up tension with India and also to keep working up trouble within India. That Pakistan has a good number of its agents

and supporters in India is a well-known fact. It is their constant effort to keep the two-nation theory on the basis of which Pakistan was created alive and to see that Muslim Indians do not get integrated with the rest of Indian society. Pakistan acts through all these Muslim organisations directly or indirectly. She has a powerful lobby in the ruling Congress party as well.

The cumulative effect of these factors has been further reinforced by the communal motivations of the policies of the ruling Congress party and its communist allies and competition between them for securing Muslim votes. The old policy of appeasement and bargains has been revived. The relaxation on the eve of mid-term poll of the service rules enjoining monogamy on Central Government servants whose religion permitted polygamy and the persistent refusal of the Government to bring Muslims within the purview of civil laws regarding monogamy are some of the glaring examples of this appeasement policy. This has encouraged the separatist elements among Muslims to reassert themselves. The political situation as it has developed since 1957 elections has come very handy to such elements. Their aggressiveness is on the increase as is clear from the new spate of communal riots which are invariably started by them.

Even if it is accepted that this is the work of some agents provocateur who work for foreign powers, how can one explain the absence of any condemnation of such elements by Muslim organisations and leadership? Not a word of disapproval of the action of those who desecrated the Jagannath temple at Ahmedabad, the Shiv temple at Banaras, and who attacked the Ram Navami procession at Chaibasa and Shivaji Jayanti procession at Bhiwandi, which resulted in bloody riots,

has been said by any leader or organ of the Muslim League, Jamaat-i-Islami, Jamiat-ul-Ulema or even by any one of the so-called nationalist Muslims in the Congress and Communist Parties.

All these facts looked in the background of the role of a large majority of Muslims of India in the creation of Pakistan through partition of India in 1947 make their Indianisation a vital necessity for the peace, security and integrity of India.

Some people often ask: how can it be said that a majority of Muslims worked for Pakistan when electorate was limited to only 13% of the population at that time? Such people forget that the Congress too claimed to represent the whole of nationalist India on the basis of the support of this 13% electorate. 93% of this 13% Muslim electorate in those areas of the country which now constitute India, who, according to the illuminating study of 1946 elections by Shri Ashoka Mehta – "Political Mind of India" – sealed the fate of United India and paved the way for the creation of Pakistan included all the vocal elements among the Muslims. Their behaviour during the last twenty-two years does not point to any change of heart in them. No less a man than General Cariappa, the first Indian C-in-C of Indian army, whose non-communal outlook and solicitude for improvement in Indo-Pak relations is well known, has been constrained to comment upon the existence of extra-territorial loyalty among the educated Muslims. Under the heading "Muslims in India" in his recent book – "Let us wake up" – the General writes :

"We are a secular country. I regard Muslims as much my brothers and sisters as I do people of all the other communities in India. I meet a wide cross-section

of them during my frequent travels in the country. I have a large number of good Muslim friends with whom I talk freely on 'men and matters' here. In these talks some have given me, much to my sadness, the impres sion of their having their feet in 'two boats' – India and Pakistan. Their loyalty seems to be primarily to Pakistan. This is a crime – unpardonable. This is also the impression of a large percentage of non-Muslim intellectuals in India. Here is the root cause for there being a none too happy feeling towards Muslims in India by a large percentage of the majority class. This is understandable.

In this context I make a fervent appeal to all my Muslim brothers and sisters in India to please come out in the open soon and declare at least to their own conscience, whom their loyalty is to – India or Pakistan. If to Pakistan, they must pack up lock, stock and barrel and go to Pakistan at once. Such people have no right to have any claim on even one square inch of our sacred soil. If, on the other hand, it is to India, and I know there are many Muslims who sincerely and truthfully feel so, they must expose disloyal elements in their community with all speed – and get them to Quit India. Here, then there will be convincing evidence that they are Indians and so would be accepted as such unreservedly by the majority class. Muslims loyal to India must realise that their brethren in India, who are known to be disloyal to India, are doing greater harm in every respect than the alleged harm done to them by the majority class! The ball is at their feet.

The partition of India came as the result of the demand from the top leaders of the Muslim League who wanted Pakistan. Now that there is Pakistan, I

as a soldier just cannot understand why there should be the Muslim League party in India today at all, and yet there is this party still functioning here. To me this seems quite wrong. By all means let there be – and indeed there should be – associations and organisations of Muslims to safeguard their cultural and social interests, but definitely NOT for any political purpose....

All this is very very important. Immediate action is required by responsible Muslim leaders in India. Delay in acting will merely accentuate 'Communal disharmony' and this must and can be avoided."

The danger posed by this section of Indian Muslims has been further aggravated by its alliance with the Communists. Some of them like those belonging to Jamaat-i-Islami are conscious of the dangers that establishment of a communist regime may pose for Islam as a religion in India. But in their anxiety to weaken and disrupt India they are prepared to take this risk as well. This is an apt example of cutting the nose to spite the face.

It is true that there are liberal and patriotic Muslims like Shri Mohammed Karim Chagla, Shri Hamid Dalwai and others of whom any country can be proud. They are a kind of silver lining in the cloudy sky of Indian Islam. But they do not have much influence with the Muslim society yet.

IX

Another class of people which needs to be Indianised on a priority basis is the class of Indian politicians and political leaders. To further their personal and party interests most Indian politicians have been denigrating nationalism and putting a premium on communalism and separatism. Apart from the divisive

effects of democracy, much of the responsibility for working up casteism, linguism and communalism squarely falls on the utterances, conduct and policies of the political leaders particularly those in power. Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi is a typical example of such politicians. The way she exploited communalism of the Muslim Members and casteism of the Harijan and Brahmin Members of Parliament and State Legislatures to defeat her own party candidate in the Presidential election is an unprecedented example of political immorality and exploitation of communalism and casteism for political ends by the top political leadership of the country.

Having achieved her objective and secured a split in her party, she is now working up communalism of the worst type to keep herself in power with the help of the Communist, the Muslim League and such other elements whose allergy to Indian nationalism and Indianisation is well-known.

Politicians who got elected to the legislatures and constitute the Governments at the Centre and State levels are the new Rajas of democratic India. Their conduct and behaviour has far reaching influence. "Yatha raja tatha praja" – as the ruler so the people – is an old adage. This is particularly true in a country like India where monarchical tradition is still quite strong. Therefore, creation of a true sense of nationalism, among politicians and political leaders so that they keep nation's interests uppermost in everything they do and say, can go a long way in saving the situation and preserving the freedom and unity of the country.

CHAPTER III

INDIANISATION—How?

THE NATIONAL DEBATE that has been going on for the last one year on the issue of Indianisation has revealed broad agreement in all thinking and patriotic people about the concept of Indianisation and the imperative need of it to create a sense of nationalism both in the masses and classes and to arrest the fissiparous trends and checkmate the designs of anti-national forces to further destroy the unity of India. The only people who have opposed it are either some power hungry politicians who have developed a vested interest in communalism and separatism of some sections of the society on the basis of caste and religion, or Communists, fellow-travellers and their communalist allies. In fact it is opposition on their part to this patriotic and unexceptionable concept that has made people think about it and its relevance to the present situation in the country.

With this wide acceptance of the concept, questions are naturally being asked as to how it can be translated into action. What programme or programmes are needed to create the sense of Indianness in the people and to insulate them against the propaganda and instigations of anti-national elements and forces?

These are pertinent and relevant questions and

demand a clear answer.

Since the matter deals with human beings, their emotions, attitudes and outlook, no mechanical rules or formulae can be prescribed for Indianisation. Human problem demands human approach which has little to do with slogan mongering and political cliches and catch-words. It demands a close study and diagnosis of the malady that ails the Indian body-politic and then tackling it on many planes, political, educational and socio-economic.

The first in order of importance and effectiveness is the political plane. Politics which has been described as "Dand Niti" in Sanskrit literature has always been regarded as one of the most important branches of human knowledge and activity which influences, more or less, all other human activities particularly those pertaining to his dealings with fellow citizens, the State and the country. That is why Chanakya, the great Political Thinker of India, equated 'Dand Niti' with "Trayi" – the knowledge of the Vedas, "Anvikshki" – philosophy of Life, and "Varta" – knowledge about economics and related matters.

The importance of political action has assumed even greater importance in the democratic world. In a democratic polity, such as India has adopted, political action has its ramification in the remotest hamlets and their humblest dwellers. That explains the truth behind John Morley's famous words: "What cuts deep in politics cuts deep alround." Incidentally it was Mr. Morley who, as British Secretary of State for India, had first described the introduction of separate electorates in India as a poison injected into the body-politic of India which will have far reaching and disastrous results. Partition of India in 1947 was the direct result

of this political move of Lord Minto in 1906. The policy of divide and rule and the process of de-nationalisation and de-Indianisation that had been started by the British with a definite objective have continued even after the departure of the British and Partition of India in 1947.

Democratic elections have further aggravated the situation and made adoption of remedial measures difficult. But still necessary remedial steps will have to be taken if India is to survive as a free nation.

I

The first thing to be considered when tackling the problem on the political plane is that the problem of religious and linguistic minorities is neither new nor peculiar to our country. It has existed and even today exists in many countries of the world and the means and methods they have adopted to tackle it have relevance for India as well.

The heterogeneous character of U.S.A. as a nation is well known. People belonging to all nationalities and religious and ethnic groups of the world have contributed to the making of the American nation over the last couple of hundred years. Till recently any candidate for American Presidency had to address the American people in over a dozen languages. The socio-economic cleavage between the white and black Americans has no parallel in India or elsewhere. From the religious point of view the cleavages between Protestant, Methodist and Roman Catholic Americans are equally pronounced. The spread of Islam among black Americans and emergence of Black Power has added another dimension to their communal problem. Jews constitute another powerful and well organised group who wield

a good deal of influence on American life and politics.

From the point of view of size and diversities of climate and other things that go with it, U.S.A. presents a problem more complex than that of India.

Still the way the leaders of thought and action in U.S.A. have welded that museum of races, nationalities and religions into a compact nation with a healthy pride in being American first is an object lesson for the people and politicians of India.

This has been achieved in America mainly through a planned and systematic campaign for Americanisation. Every new entrant into the U.S.A.'s national family has to undergo a course of Americanisation during which he is taught the American English, which is the national language of that land, and American history right from the first landing of the English immigrants on the American mainland. A feeling of respect and emotional attachment to Washington, Abraham Lincoln and other American heroes and a sense of pride in American culture and the democratic way of life that characterises it are also inculcated in them. Every school day begins with a salute to the American national flag and singing in chorus of America's national anthem. Millions of dollars have been spent to resurrect Williamsberg, the original capital of Virginia as it existed in the 17th century and conscious effort is made to take American children and youth to that place where they can see the growth of American life and history with their eyes and listen to its story through carefully chosen programmes and films.

Even though U.S.A. is a secular State, all official functions including meetings of the Senate, the Congress and even of Municipal bodies are preceded by prayers led by Protestant Priests according to Protes-

tant rites and tradition. When I asked an American friend during my visit to U.S.A. why did they follow Protestant prayers on such occasions even though they had quite a large number of Roman Catholics, Jews, Muslims, Buddhists and Hindus in their country, he raised his eye-brows in surprise. "Why should they protest?" he said. "We are a God-fearing people and we remember God in public in the way a majority of our people do. That is in keeping with our democratic traditions."

Then there are the Communist countries like the USSR and China. They are more like empires than single countries. Both of them have large areas and large poulation which have no link with Russia and China proper as known all through the history. Among them are crores of Muslims in Tajikstan and Uzberkistan in USSR and Sinkiang and other parts of Communist China. According to rough estimates their proportion to the total population of USSR and China is about the same as that of Muslim Indians to the total population of India. But has any one heard of any special treatment to Muslims as a distinct religious group in these countries? They speak the languages of their respective regions which have been superimposed by Russian and Han Chinese languages. Their names have been Russianised or Sinified. It is difficult to distinguish a Soviet Muslim or a Chinese Muslim from other Russians or Chinese by name. No one has even heard of Muslim minority in these countries. The Muslims there have been completely Russianised or Sinified and the religion of Marx and Lenin has been superimposed on the religion of Mohammed which they follow in their private lives. The same has happened in Yugoslavia where Muslims constitute about 13 per-

cent of the total population.

Why cannot the Government of India take a lesson from Russian or Yugoslavian experience and programme for the absorption and assimilation of Muslims and other ethnic, religious and linguistic groups in the mainstream of their respective national lives?

The problem of religious and ethnic minorities exists in some of the so-called Islamic States as well. There are about 15 per cent non-Muslims, mainly Christians, in U.A.R., Sudan and Syria. They have a distinct history, tradition and cultural background dating back to centuries before Islam was born or introduced in these countries. What is their position in these Islamic countries which also claim to be socialist and secular and are accepted as such by the Government of India? Has any one in India ever heard of the problem of non-Muslim minorities in these countries? They have been either assimilated in the national mainstream of these countries or have reconciled themselves to the realities as they exist.

Even more glaring is the example of Malaysia. The Muslim Malays constitute only about 48 per cent of the total population of that country. The rest of the population is made up of the people of Indian origin, who follow different forms of Hindu-Dharma and people of Chinese origin who are mainly Buddhists or Christians. Malaysia is officially an Islamic but secular State. But non-Muslims who happen to be in majority suffer from certain disabilities. For example no Muslim girl or boy can marry a non-Muslim girl or boy unless he is converted to Islam otherwise the marriage is declared null and void. This is in keeping with Muslim Shariat or religious laws. But it is cause of genuine grievance for non-Muslim Malaysians. When I raised this ques-

tion with Tun Abdur Razaq, the Deputy Prime Minister and real ruler of Malaysia in Kualalumpur during my recent visit to that country, he quipped, "why should anybody grumble? Our being secular only means that we respect all forms of worship but this does not and cannot mean that Malay Muslims who constitute the dominant stream in Malaysia's national life should not have special privileges." I wonder whether the Government of India has even cared to look into these features of Malaysian secularism.

So far as Pakistan is concerned, less said the better. Non-Muslims – Hindus, Buddhists and Christians – still constitute about 10 per cent of the population of Pakistan. They were more than 25 per cent of the population of that State when it was born in 1947. About 20 millions of them have been either killed, converted by force to Islam or driven out of their hearths and homes during the last twenty-two years. There is no parallel to the genocide that has been going on in Pakistan all these years in the history of the world.

The ten per cent that are left – this percentage is about the same as that of Muslims in India – are being treated as third class citizens. They have hardly a representative in the legislatures, administration, judiciary and diplomatic services of that State. Even the basic human rights are denied to them. And still not a word has ever been uttered in condemnation of Pakistan by those who are having best of both worlds in India.

No true Indian who has any understanding of Indian culture and tradition would like the Government of India to follow Pakistan's example. But it can surely learn something from USA, on the one hand

and USSR, Yugoslavia and UAR which claim to be socialist, progressive and secular and are accepted as such by the Government of India, on the other. Their example and experience point to political action on the following lines :

II

Regionalism and linguistic chauvinism is one major threat to Indian unity at the moment. With the rise and growth of regional parties, some of which hold the reins of power in their respective States, the Communist theory about every linguistic State being a separate nation is getting new supporters from among such regional parties. It suits them to work up regional feelings and consciousness at the cost of national consciousness. They expect people living in those States including the minority groups to become good Maharashtrians, Tamils or Gujaratis rather than good Indians. In the words of Rashid Baig, "Each of the flower beds in the garden which is India has its own gardener who is more interested in his own flower bed than in the garden as a whole."

The rise of sub-regionalism as a result of imbalance in economic development or over-bearing attitude of the people from more populous and advanced parts of the same linguistic region has added new dimensions to the problem of regionalism. While on the one hand such movements as those for separate States of Telangana and Vidarbha point to a trend towards further disintegration, at the other they have exposed the theory of linguistic or regional nationalism.

There are patriotic people in the country who have become thoroughly disgusted and disillusioned by the linguistic States and have been pleading for their aboli-

tion and reorganisation of the country into bigger States or Zones on the basis of administrative convenience and economic considerations.

Then there are others who are equally patriotic but more realistic. They realise that the abolition of linguistic States and their grouping into zones is not a practical proposition today. Furthermore the growth of sub-regional consciousness and the comparative backwardness of bigger States points not to enlarging the existing States but cutting them to smaller size. This line of thinking has got further encouragement and support from the creation of small States like Nagaland and Meghalya and continuance of Goa and Pondicherry as separate Union Territories, though the principle of linguistic States demands their immediate merger with Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra. The experience of Punjab and Haryana in the field of economic development has also strengthened the cause for smaller States. It is now generally accepted that smaller States would be advisable for three reasons. They would provide for rapid and more even economic development of the country. They will strengthen grass root democracy because of smaller constituencies and more direct touch between the electorate and their democratic representatives. And above all they will be a factor for strengthening the Centre because of their greater dependence on it and lesser potential to challenge its authority.

If the U.S.A., it is argued with effect, can have fifty States with its total population of about 20 crores, why cannot India have a larger number of States? The fact that some of the existing Indian States like Madhya Pradesh are too unwieldy from the point of view of effective administration also strengthens the cause of smaller States.

It is now for the political leadership to take a hard decision in the matter. A new States Reorganisation Commission should be appointed which should reorganise the country on the basis of administrative convenience, historical background, social homogeneity, linguistic affinity and economic viability.

Once this is done a number of new States like Telangana, Madurai, Vidarbha, Chhatisgarh, Saurashtra and Oudh can be created out of the existing States of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh.

The existence of more than one States of one language will surely weaken linguistic chauvinism and give a set back to the growing regionalism. It will not violate the principle of linguistic States either. If there can be ten Hindi speaking States, there is no reason why there cannot be more than one Marathi or Telugu or Tamil speaking States. Such a thing would be a departure from the existing policy and might be resisted by the powers that be in the existing States. But it is necessary not only for checking overgrowth of regionalism but also for rapid and balanced economic development of the country. Furthermore such a reorganisation would give much more satisfaction to the people because of its conformity with traditional divisions of the country.

Along with such a re-organisation of the country, effective steps should be taken to develop an Indian language for inter-State communications and intellectual inter-course between different part of the country and adopt a common alternative script for all the Indian languages. As things are Hindi or Bharati and Dev Nagri script are the obvious choice. In view of the fact that political opposition to Hindi has been built

up in certain States, care should be taken that it is introduced in such States through persuasion rather than by any kind of imposition. To allow Hindi to be exploited as an instrument for disruption would be most unfortunate. The right course would be to create motivation for learning Hindi in these sections of society which have developed a vested interest in the domination of English language. So far as the common people of the country including its Southern and Eastern parts are concerned, Hindi is being picked up by them imperceptibly. The so-called opposition to Hindi and other Indian languages in some parts of the country is more political than real. The remedy lies in using them without making any fuss about them.

The example of Indonesia and USSR which, in spite of wide diversity of languages, have adopted a common language and script needs to be followed in this regard. Growth of a strong sense of nationalism will also help in removing the existing indifference or antipathy towards Hindi and other Indian language in the country. National unity of India will remain unreal without a national language.

Effective implementation of the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission regarding institution of All India Services, appointment of High Court judges in different States on national rather than regional basis together with more attention to development of internal tourism and mobility of professional classes will also help in weaking regionalism and creating an All India outlook among the people.

III

Casteism is primarily a social problem. But the form it has taken and the role it is playing in India

today is mainly political. The untouchability aspect of it which impelled reformers and political leaders like Maharishi Dayanand and Mahatma Gandhi to take up cudgels against it has been steadily going into the background. The economic forces like industrialisation, movement of population from villages to towns and growing mobility of labour together with educational advance and growth of social consciousness have made deep inroads into the concept and practice of untouchability in the sense in which it was followed till the early decades of 20th century. There are few people in the country today who dare to justify it or practice it publicly.

Now the danger to national unity comes from the politicalisation of caste system. Reservations and other benefits enjoyed by certain castes on the basis of birth have created a vested interest in perpetuation of backwardness of such sections on the basis of caste. The divisive effect of this politicalised caste system can be ended only by political action. A definite criteria for social, economic and educational backwardness must be laid down and all those who fulfil that should be given special concessions and help for bringing them to the level of other sections of society. To determine backwardness by birth is to put premium on backwardness. Only a bold political decision can change this situation.

Late Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was very clear in his mind about the demoralising effect of reservations on the basis of caste on those for whom they are meant. The Republican Party which he founded, therefore, wanted abolition of reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes. Instead of accepting the bold lead given by him, the principle of reservation is being extended to new castes and groups including converts to other re-

ligions from these castes.

The role of casteism in the elections has done more to make it an instrument of disruption than anything else. Therefore apart from abolition of reservations of seats on caste basis, the electoral law needs to be radically changed to remove the bane of casteism from the political life of the country. Once that is done, it will cease to be a major factor for disintegration.

At the same time steps should be taken to prevent official notice being taken of one's caste. This can be best achieved by stopping the recording of caste in the census records and official forms.

Such de-politicalisation of caste will have to be accompanied by concerted social action by social reformers and social and cultural organisations. Social problems cannot be tackled through political action alone. Ground for political action too will have to be prepared by determined efforts on the social and educational plane. Ever since political leaders and parties have begun to exploit caste system in the name of creating a casteless society, social reformers have gone into the background. This situation must be changed. Organisations like Arya Samaj and Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh must pay more attention to the work of social reform. They will be able to influence the country's politics much better if they concentrate on a non-political plane in removing these deformities of the Indian social structure.

IV

Unlike casteism, communalism in the sense of stress on special interests of certain religious groups at the cost of the nation group or other religious groups and demand for special political and other rights on

that basis is a thing of comparatively recent origin in India. As explained earlier, the very concept of religion as understood in the Western world is foreign to India. There is something exclusive in a religion, bound as it is to a particular Prophet, book and dogma.

Before the advent of Islam, India had a number of "Panths" or forms of worship existing side by side. They had different deities, rituals, places of worship and preceptors. They even differed in regard to such basic questions as attitude to soul, God and matter—"Atman," "Pramataman" and "Prakriti,"—the means to attain salvation and the notions about life after death. They tried to prove their superiority and win over adherents through religious debates—"Shastrarth"—between their leaders in which sometimes heat too was generated. But it was universally accepted that in the matters of spirit, as in respect of thought, everyone was free to follow his own path and hold his own views and that prayers and offerings made in whatever fashion and language reach the same God who is one and common to all. This was the basis of the Indian concept of "Sarva Dharma Sam Bhav"—equal respect to all "Panths" or forms of worship or religions. It is a positive concept and goes much further than secularism which has a negative connotation.

The word secularism came in vogue in Europe after the renaissance when intellectuals began to question the domination of the Church over the State and the resultant mixing up of religion and politics. Secularism is derived from the word secular which according to the Concise Oxford Dictionary of current English means "concerned with the affairs of this world, worldly not sacred, not monastic, not ecclesiastical, temporal, profane, lay." Secularism therefore came to mean the op-

posite of Theocracy which was the rule in Christian world till the 16th century, A.D.

A State which acted independently of the Church and which removed restrictions against non-conformists and gave them equal treatment in matter of civil rights, franchise and patronage came to be called a secular State as distinct from a theocratic State. Such a State was not supposed to denigrate religion or decry its role in the life of an individual and society. Nor was such a State expected to cease to have a State religion. But the religion of the State or ruler was not supposed to infringe upon the religious and civil rights and beliefs of the citizens who belonged to a different religious group or sect.

It only permitted freedom of belief and equality to all those whom it was denied in the name of conformism in theocratic States.

Britain is a classic case of transformation of a theocratic State to a secular State. Till the beginning of 18th century the British State considered it its duty to support and propagate Anglican church and Anglican form of worship. Roman Catholics were denied the right to get admission to the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford till as late as 1860.

But with the growth of rationalism and modernism the British rulers and Church leaders decided to demarcate their spheres of influence and action. Britain today is a secular State in the sense that it does not permit any discrimination between its citizens on the basis of their religion. But it continues to have an established Church and British head of the State, King or Queen as the case may be, has still to belong to it. All official functions are inaugurated with Anglican prayers. The large number of British people who

follow Roman Catholic or other forms of worship have tacitly accepted this primacy of Anglican Church.

The same is true of most other secular States. U.A.R., Nepal and Burma are Islamic, Hindu and Buddhist States but are accepted as secular because they claim that they do not make any distinction between their citizens who do not follow Islamic, Hindu or Buddhist faiths.

Such secularism is not incompatible with religion.

But an extremist view of secularism as professed and propagated by Communist countries and Communist Parties is that the State should not only have no religion but it must see to it that religion is denigrated with a view to make people abjure it altogether. This concept of secularism has been equated with absence of religion. To be secular in this sense is to be irreligious and profane.

The Indian concept of "Sarva Dharma Sama Bhav" is superior to both these notions of secularism. It does not stand for irreligiosity or profanity nor it gives primacy to any particular form of worship. It only elevates all religions or ways of worship to a pedestal of equality and enjoins upon followers of different "paths" to have equal respect and reverence for the beliefs, ways of worship and places of worship of others.

Naturally, therefore, there could be no question of communalism or violent conflicts between different religious groups so long as all of them believed in and conformed to this concept of "Sarva Dharma Sama Bhav." That explains why not only Shaivism, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism and Brahmoism and many other 'Panths' have flourished side by side in this country for ages but also why even the Syrian Christians, the Jews and the Parsis were accommodated and given equal rights and freedom in regard to their ways of worship

when they first entered this country to take refuge from religious bigotry in other parts of the world.

The problem of communalism as it exists in India today is a gift of Islam. Islam is a monolithic religion which got mixed up with politics from its very inception. Prophet Mohammed after he established himself at Madina became both the temporal and ecclesiastical head of his followers. He became the "Imam" and "Khalifa" of Islam at the same time. That is the starting point and basis of Islamic theocracy.

The intolerance for followers of other religions and imposition of Islamic faith on them on point of sword, if necessary, has been a fact of Islamic history which no one who has any regard for truth can deny. The intolerance of Sunni Muslims who constitute a majority of the followers of Islam in India even towards Muslim sects like Shias and Ahmdis who happen to be in a minority is equally well-known. The atrocities committed on the Shias right from the killing of Imam Hussain at Karbala to the burning and killing of Shias in Lucknow in 1969 and the barbarities perpetrated against Ahmdiyas in the Anti-Ahmdiya riots in Lahore in the Islamic State of Pakistan in 1954, are enough to prove that this intolerance is not reserved for non-Muslims alone.

The history of Muslim, particularly Sunni, communalism in India is as old as Islam itself. Had India too succumbed to Islam as Egypt and Iran did, it might have taken a different shape. But India proved a hard nut. While most of North Africa and West Asia was overrun by Muslim Arabs within fifty years of the death of the founder of Islam, it took them three centuries to subdue Hindu Kingdoms of Kabul and Zabal in Afghanistan and another two hundred years to reach Delhi.

In spite of the sway of a number of Muslim rulers over large parts of North and Central India for many centuries and in spite of their determined efforts to transform India into an Islamic country, India succeeded in maintaining its social and cultural identity. In the words of Maulana Hali, the ship of Islam which had crossed all the seas safely and had conquered the whole world sank in the delta of Ganga.

"वह दीन-ए-हिजाज़ी का बेबाक बेड़ा
किये पार जिसने सातों समुंदर
जो जेहुं में अटका न सेहुं में अटका
डूबा दहाना में गंगा के आ कर।"

It was a long drawn struggle between two approaches to life and spirit. It goes to the credit of India that she succeeded to a good extent in humanising and Indianising Islam as well. The emergence of Sufis like Malik Mohamed Jaysi and Rahim and rulers and statesmen like Akbar and Dara Shikoh from among the Muslims is a glowing testimony to the triumph of the Indian ideal of "Sarva Dharma Sam Bhav" over the Islam or death approach of Mahmud of Ghazni, Feroz Tughlaq and Aurangzeb.

But even when this process of Indianisation of Islam was going on, Islamic exclusiveness and orthodoxy asserted itself from time to time. The reply given by Mullah Badayuni to a Muslim soldier who asked him in the battlefield of Haldi Ghati how to distinguish between Maharana Pratap's Rajputs from the Rajputs fighting for the Mughals—"Shoot" indiscriminately, whoever is killed will be gain to Islam,"[1]—gives an idea of the mind of the Mullahs, the custodians of Islam ortho-

1. *Religious Policy of Mughal Emperors* by Principal Shri Ram Sharma.

doxy, at a time when Akbar the greatest of the Mughal Kings was trying his best to Indianise Islam. Akbar could resist them. But his successors, Jahangir and Shahjehan, began to bend before them and Islamic orthodoxy and communalism came on the top once again under Aurangzeb.

The Indian reaction to Muslim communalism which was then backed by power of the Mughal throne is well known. The "resurgent nationalism" which manifested itself through Chhatrapati Shivaji, Maharana Raj Singh and Guru Govind Singh ultimately finished the Muslim power in India. It was followed by a period of equilibrium when Islam ceased to have military and political backing. As a result communalism and chauvinistic exclusiveness of Islam ceased to be profitable to its Indian followers. This accelerated the process of their Indianisation.

The common antipathy to the British who became the masters of the whole country by the middle of the 19th century was another factor in favour of mutual adjustments and Indianisation of such Muslims as had developed a superiority complex and looked down upon the Indians in general including lower classes of Muslims.

The failure of the armed struggle of 1857 to drive out the British had two-fold effects. It demoralised Indians irrespective of their caste or creed. The British on their part learnt the lesson that their position in India can be imperilled at any time if the people of India including Muslims act in unison against them.

The year 1857, therefore, marked the beginning of a new British policy of exploiting the existing caste and communal divisions in the country for their imperial ends. Reorganisation of the British Indian army on

caste and communal lines and the initiation of a policy to win over Muslim upper classes was the result. This policy was clearly set out by Sir John Stratchey, the Finance Member of the Government of India in 1874, in the following words:

"The existence side by side of these (Hindu and Muslim) hostile creeds is one of the strong points in our political position in India. The better classes of Mohammedans are a source to us of strength and not weakness. They constitute a comparatively small but an energetic minority of the population whose political interests are identical with ours."

It was in pursuit of this policy that Anglo-Muslim alliance was forged through the M.A.O. College which later became Aligarh Muslim University. The command performance of Aga Khan in 1906 which according to the diary of Lady Minto "cut off sixty million Muslims from the seditious ranks of the Hindus" and the formation of All-India Muslim League in the same year were important steps towards re-activisation of Muslim separatism and reversal of the process of Indianisation of Islam and Muslims.

Unfortunately debut of Mahatma Gandhi and the turn he gave to the policies of the Indian National Congress came very handy to the British in this game of working up Muslim communalism. The support Mahatma Gandhi gave to Khilafat movement, which threw Muslim masses into the lap of the Mullahs and Aligarh trained intelligentsia, was the worst political blunder of his life. Khilafat movement revived extra-territorialism among Indian Muslims and created in them an Islamic consciousness as distinct from Indian consciousness. The combination of British policy of divide and rule and Congress policy of appeasement gave a bargaining

position to Muslim leadership which it used very dexterously and effectively. The clash of wills between Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, both of whom were egoists of an extreme type, gave a new edge to communal intransigence of the Muslim League.

Even a cursory glance at the speeches and writings of Congress leaders from 1916 to 1947 and books on the communal question written during this period gives the impression which was deliberately created and propagated by the Congress leadership that Hindu-Muslim problem was entirely a creation of the British, who were the real villains of the piece, and that once they left the country for good there would be no communal problem and no communal riots. This theory of the British being the real cause of prevailing communalism was at the root of the policy of progressive pandering to communal intransigence of the Muslim League. This suited admirably to both the British rulers and the Muslim League. While the British began to stress upon Hindu-Muslim unity as pre-condition for independence, the Muslim League began to raise its price for making a common cause with the Congress for freedom of the Motherland. Ultimately it got its pound of flesh in the form of a separate sovereign State for Indian Muslims under the name of Pakistan.

Pakistan came into being on August 14, 1947 and the British left India for good on the following day. Mother India was thus vivisected and crores of patriotic people of West Punjab, Sind and East Bengal offered as sacrificial goats at the altar of Muslim separatism and communalism. And still this problem which partition was supposed to have solved remains. It has taken even more violent and dangerous form during the past few years.

The Congress leaders who used to put all the blame for the communal problem on the British and who accepted the partition of India in 1947 to oust the British and solve the communal problem and who have been in power in India since then are now putting forth new and equally baseless and illogical explanations for a situation which reminds one of the situation that existed on the eve of partition, in 1947. Thirty-five million Muslims who had been left behind in India in 1947 have since multiplied to over 50 millions. To cover its failure either to bring about complete exchange of Hindu and Muslim population in the wake of partition as suggested by Mr. Jinnah and Dr. Ambedkar or to Indianise the Muslim Leaguers left behind and wean them away from the two-nation theory, the Congress leadership is now trying to find new scapegoats for the recrudescence of Muslim communalism and its inevitable reactions on the nationalist mind.

Instead of analysing the problem and diagnosing the disease without which no remedy can be effective, the ruling Congress Party and its Communist allies are trying to aggravate the situation by side-tracking the real issue, and putting all the blame for riots and communal tension on the majority community or communities as the case may be.

Since they cannot conceal the fact that most riots in recent years have invariably been started by the militant and pro-Pak section of Muslim community, they have started putting forth the pre-posterous proposition that it does not matter as to who starts the riots. According to them the Hindus as majority section of the society must be blamed for all riots because losses suffered by Muslims are more.

If this line of reasoning which has been given cur-

rency by no less a person than the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, is followed then all the blame for Indo-Pak War of 1965 must be put on India because Pakistan suffered more losses and casualties in that war.

The fact is that Muslim problem as it has emerged in India today is entirely the creation of the ruling Congress Party, particularly its present leadership, which has developed a vested interest in Muslim communalism for Muslim support in the elections just as the British had developed a vested interest in Muslim communalism for using it against the nationalist forces led by the Indian National Congress before 1947. Had this leadership learnt the lessons of partition and had it been serious about solving this problem for good, it would have taken concerted steps right from 1947 to wean away the Muslim masses from the communal leadership of Muslim League and its allies who became Congressmen overnight by changing their caps.

It could have built up a really patriotic leadership among Muslims and brought them into the national mainstream with little effort. But it did quite the opposite. It systematically worked up in their minds imaginary fear of nationalist parties like the Jana Sangh and tried to keep them tied to the apron strings of the Congress by offering them baits like continuation of polygamy among them and going out of the way to reconstruct Aligarh Muslim University without changing its communal and anti-national character. By doing so it prevented modernisation of Islam which is an essential pre-requisite for its Indianisation.

The campaign against communalism that has of late been started by the Congress and Communist Parties is primarily aimed at strengthening and mobilising Muslim communalism in favour of these parties. It has

nothing whatsoever to do with eradication of communalism as such. Its main aim as Mr. Frank Moraes, Chief Editor of "Indian Express," who himself is a Christian by religion, has pointed out in a recent article (Indian Express, May 18, 1970) is to exploit the minorities for political ends. "Who has created and revitalised this image of majority and minority?" he asks and then adds, "Let it be said frankly, none other than the Prime Minister of India."

Therefore, the first thing to be done to eradicate communalism which is a real and growing danger to India's very existence as a nation is to take it out of the party politics. The lead in this matter must come from the ruling party. Let all political parties declare and swear that they will not work up and exploit communalism for party ends. Let the Government remove the wide-spread impression that it has double standards and that it has been trying to appease the Muslims at the cost of others as is clear from its refusal to extend the common civil code in regard to monogamy to Muslims to secure their votes in the elections.

This policy of appeasement of Muslim communalism is reminiscent of the similar Congress policy in pre-partition days and its disastrous results. It is important that leaders of Muslim League and Majlis-e-Mushawarat are made to realise that separatism and communalism will not pay. So long as they feel that a policy of separatism and communal instransigence yields rich dividends, they cannot be expected to give it up. Unfortunately the history of the past fifty years has created a feeling in this leadership in India as also in the rulers of Pakistan that an aggressive policy towards Hindus and India is a wise policy. They have been interpreting the mildness and absence of fanaticism among the Hindus in

general as their cowardice and weakness. Their past experience creates hope in them that they can become masters of the whole of India once again. This hope and feeling is expressed in the often repeated slogan in Pakistan:

हंस के लिया पाकिस्तान
लड़ के लेंगे हिन्दुस्तान

(We got Pakistan in fun and we will get India by conquest), which finds a fraternal echo in the hearts of Muslim Leaguers in India as well. In fact systematic efforts are being made by the leaders and organs of Majlis-e-Mushawarat, Muslim League and Jamaat-e-Islami to impress upon the Muslims in India that they must increase their population somehow and that only Muslims can rule over India. The leaders of Majlis-i-Mushawarat have never made a secret of their conviction that establishment of Muslim rule in India is not only in the interest of Indian Muslims but also in the interest of India as a whole. The same thing was said in other words by Mr. Khalil Ul Husain, the President of Tamir-e-Millat. Giving his reaction on the defeat of the Indian army at the hands of the Chinese in 1962 he wrote in "Arshad", the official organ of his organisation:

"This defeat has proved that the present rulers of India are incapable of ruling over the country. The only alternative before the country is to hand over the government to those who ruled over this country for a thousand years."

Pakistan is also interested in keeping such dangerous thoughts alive in the minds of Indian Muslims. It is mortally afraid of Indian Muslims merging in the Indian mainstream because that will explode the two-

nation theory on the basis of which Pakistan was created. Therefore, every possible effort is being made by Pakistan directly or indirectly to keep up Muslim identity as distinct from Indian identity. That explains the opposition of Muslim League and such other Muslim organisations to the concept of Indianisation. The hands of Pakistan and these Muslim organisations in India have, therefore, been very much strengthened by the opposition of the Prime Minister to Indianisation. Her objective is to secure Muslim votes in the coming elections. But for this short range partisan gain she is, unwittingly perhaps, helping Pakistan and her agents in India to pave the way for another partition of the country as a prelude to eventual take over of the whole country by Pakistan and her agents.

Therefore, dangerous implications of this policy of bolstering up Muslim communalism for temporary political gains must be clearly grasped by all patriotic Indians irrespective of their party affiliations.

Apart from withdrawing political support to communalism, other positive steps will have to be taken to meet this menace.

The most important and urgent of such steps is to build up a non-sectarian patriotic and forward looking leadership among Indian Muslims. This is essential to modernise Islam and save it from becoming an instrument for perpetuating the hegemony of anachronistic Mullahs on Muslim masses. But for a Kamal Pasha, Turkish Islam might have remained as outdated and backward looking as the Indian Islam of today. It is preposterous to think that what Kamal Pasha could do to give a Turkish and modern image to Islam in his country cannot be done to modernise and Indianise Islam in India. But that requires first of all emergence

of such people in the Muslim society as are prepared to raise the banner of revolt against the vested interests of Aligarh intelligentsia and Mullahs.

It is a matter of satisfaction that some such convulsions are taking place in the minds of a small section of Muslim youth. Hamid Dalwai, a young and energetic social worker of Poona, is one such young man. There are many others like him in the Jana Sangh, too. But they do not have that much pull with Mullah-dominated Muslim society. Some of them are afraid to speak out for fear of social ostracism. One such young man, a lecturer in political science in a Delhi College, after listening to my speech on the subject told me that he entirely agreed with me but could not propagate such ideas among Muslims for fear of being victimised.

Unfortunately, the ruling party in India instead of encouraging such people has been putting its entire weight on the side of orthodox and communal leadership. A patriotic and modernistic Mohammed Karim Chagla has no use for it but an ex-Razakar like Yunus Saleem is lionised by it.

It is the duty of all nationalist political parties and organisations to give every encouragement to modernistic trends and elements in the Muslim society.

Secondly, planned efforts should be made to inculcate the spirit of "Sarva Dharma Sam Bhav" among Muslims through every mass media of education. The notion that only Islam is a true religion and that only believers in Mohammed and Kuran are entitled to go to heaven and all others are kafirs or heretics, whatever its basis, can have no place in India. Islam is a form of worship like so many other forms and ways of worship co-existing in India. A Mohammadi Panth

has as secure a place in India as a Sikh Panth or a Jain Panth. But to talk of Muslims in India having a separate culture, and a separate way of life distinct from Indian culture and Indian way of life is wrong. Muslim Indians have the same culture and way of life as other Indians. Culture pertains to a country and not to a religion or sect as such. The whole of Europe is Christian. But German, French and Italian Christians have their distinct national cultures. The same is true of Iran, Indonesia, Turkey and Afghanistan. These are predominantly Muslim countries, but they have their distinct national cultures. All of them are proud of their pre-Islamic past, heritage and forefathers. Therefore, there is no reason why anybody should think in terms of a separate Muslim culture as distinct from Indian culture and why should a Muslim Indian not have as much respect for and pride in Indian heritage and heroes like Rama and Krishan, Bhim and Arjun as Iranians have so for Sohrab and Rustum and Indonesians have for Rama and Arjun, Ramayana and Mahabharata. Once this is realised by the rising generation of Muslims in India, there might be some rethinking about names as well. As things are, Muslims in India prefer to have Jewish or Arabic or Turkish names. This is illogical. There are plenty of Hindus who have names like Ram Ghulam, Sant Baksh Singh, Iqbal Chand. Why cannot Muslims have names like Suraj Din and Ram Ditta if not pure Sanskrit names as in Indonesia?

To defend polygamy and purdah in the name of Shariat is as much wrong as to defend untouchability in the name of Dharma Shastras. But while there are plenty of Hindus in this country who condemned Jagatguru Shankaracharya when he reportedly pleaded for untouchability in the name of Dharma Shastras, there

are hardly any Muslim leaders in the country who have openly come out against polygamy and purdah. Even Muslim women who are worst affected by these anachronistic laws and customs find it difficult to open their lips against them. This soul killing atmosphere in the Muslim society which is being perpetuated by the Mullahs and Maulanas and their allies from Aligarh to maintain their hold on Muslim masses and secure advantages from the government by dangling their votes before the powers that be, is the greatest source of Muslim communalism and resistance to modernisation and Indianisation of Islam.

The lead in this matter too must come from the political leadership of the country. Unless the real causes of Islamic exclusiveness and intolerance are clearly understood and steps are taken to remove them, all these slogans about national integration and joint campaigning against communalism will prove futile. It is time that truly non-communal Indian intellectuals and thinkers shed their misplaced fear of being dubbed as communalist or reactionary if they call a spade a spade. If they do not speak out and allow their inner fears, anxieties and feelings to be hidden from the people, the sinister designs of Communist-communalist alliance may succeed and all the values and liberties they cherish may become things of the past.

It is, therefore, no use talking of communalism in general terms. The only communalism which cost the country its unity in 1947 and which is again threatening peace, security and integrity of the country is Muslim communalism. The only riots that the country has known are Muslim-Hindu, or Muslim-Christian or Muslim-Buddhist riots. Or there have been riots between different sects of Muslims. There are other religious

communities like Sikhs, Christians, Parsis, Arya Samajists, Brahmos, etc., in the country. They, too, have their differences and occasional pin-pricks, which are natural and inevitable in any free society. But they do not lead to riots and brutal killing of the innocent. Therefore, it is wrong to talk of communalism of the minorities and majority. The so-called communalism of the majority or other minority groups comes to the surface only as a reaction to Muslim communalism. Once canker of this communalism is eradicated from the Indian body politic, communalism will cease to be a problem and a danger to national unity.

It is sometimes argued that Christianity, too, is a monolithic creed and it, too, does not fit in with the Indian concept of freedom and equal respect for all paths of worship. It is true that terrible barbarities were committed in the name of Christianity in medieval times. But Christianity has since been modernised and re-interpreted to suit the demands of the age of reason. There may be still traces of that bigotry here and there in some sects of Christianity. But that can be said of some other religious sects as well. A religious, social or political group must be judged by the conduct and outlook of its members in general and not of a few black sheep, that are to be found in all societies and groups.

In fact too much talk of religious minorities is in itself a danger to such minorities as also to the country as a whole. It is a hurdle in the way of their Indianisation because it makes them suffer from a minority complex all the time. Actually most religious groups in this country are in minority and Muslims constitute a bigger group from the religious point of view than Christians, Jains, Sikhs, Arya Samajists, Brahmos, etc.

In a political democracy majority and minority is based on political strength and support. Wherever the Congress or DMK or Jana Sangh is in majority its members to whatever religious community they may belong constitute the majority group. The sole Muslim member of the Jana Sangh Party in Delhi Metropolitan Council is part of the majority because Jana Sangh happens to be in majority in that Council.

Multiplicity of political parties in India and the regional and communal character of some of them militates against the growth of right approach to the question of majority and minority. Some political parties like the Muslim League can exist only if the minority complex among Muslims continues. It is ,therefore, important that the number of political parties should be cut down through a process of elimination and polarisation. The parties which believe in two-nation or multi-nation theories about India or have extra-territorial loyalties or have no faith in the democratic system have no right to exist. As things are, these three things are common in all the Communist parties. The Muslim League which spearheaded the movement for partition also has no place in free India. The revival of Muslim League in Kerala a few years back was the first indication of the revival of Muslim communalism. Now it has decided to extend its field of activity to other States as well. The way it has succeeded in pressurising different parties in Kerala on the strength of a solid block of Muslim League members in the Assembly has encouraged it to strive for a similar role in other States and at the Centre. That explains the declaration of the Muslim League leaders at the Muslim League Session held at Palghat in May 1970 that their aim was to revitalise the League to pressurise the Centre "to safe-

guard the interests of the Muslim minority." The results and repercussions of such a revitalisation of Muslim League on Indian politics and communal situation can be well understood by those who have any idea of the role and methodology of the Muslim League in pre-Independence and pre-partition days.

The most painful irony of the Indian situation is that those, including the Prime Minister, who are the loudest in denouncing communalism as the greatest danger to India's national life, have become the greatest defenders and supporters of the Muslim League. They are running with the hare of Muslim League and communalism and hunting with the hound of nationalism. This hypocrisy and double dealing must be exposed mercilessly.

A complete ban on Muslim League in whatever form it may exist is an essential prerequisite for rooting out two-nation theory from the minds of Muslims and bringing them in the national mainstream.

Similarly, Communist parties which have never made any secret of wrecking the Constitution and subverting democracy and who have made a common cause with the Muslim League to disrupt India have no place in Indian polity. There can be no justification for allowing them to use liberties and freedom guaranteed by the Indian Constitution to destroy those liberties and the Constitution itself.

But such parties and forces can be curbed and contained only when nationalist and democratic parties, whatever their differences in regard to socio-economic problems may be, work together to meet their challenge. Division of nationalists into a number of small parties and dependence of the ruling Congress Party of Mrs. Indira Gandhi on Communists and commun-

alists to keep her minority government going has given a new life and strength to such parties. History is full of examples of reckless and upstart political leaders doing incalculable harm to their countries for getting power somehow. That example is being repeated in India today. It, therefore, becomes a patriotic duty of nationalist elements within the ruling Congress party also to assert themselves against the sell out of the country for the temporary gain of an individual or a clique.

Unless all the nationalist and democratic parties and forces agree on a common approach to meet the challenges of communalism, casteism and regionalism, and decide to give top priority to the task of revitalising Indian nationalism, there is no future for this country. That is why action on the political plane is of the greatest importance for putting the concept of Indianisation into practice.

V

Education has also to play a very important role in the programme for Indianisation. The values and emotional attachments that a child develops during school days play important part in his later life. This requires that the educational curricula should have a positive moral and national content in it.

The system and content of education that free India has inherited from the British lacks both these things. In fact greater attention was given to these aspects of education during the British days, particularly in non-governmental schools and colleges than today. Most of us read something of Ramayana and Mahabharata, of Hitopadesha and Panchatantra and of Shivaji and Maharana Pratap apart from the contemporary

giants like Lokmanya Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai during our school and college days. Now all these things have been eliminated in the name of secularism and political expediency. Efforts are being made in the name of national integration to remove all references to Ramayana and Mahabharata and their heroes and characters from the text-books. So far as the national content is concerned it has been reduced to brief history of freedom fight under Gandhiji. The only two other persons who are being given any importance from that angle are Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Azad.

The result is that even graduates coming out of Universities know little about the great saints and scholars, patriots and soldiers who kept the banner of India aloft during centuries of foreign rule, religious persecution and social stagnation. Apart from their other merits Ramayana and Mahabharata are the two greatest factors of national integration in India. They and their characters are writ large over the Indian mind from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and even beyond. Rama and Krishna are as much the ancestors and great men of Christian and Muslim Indians as of anybody else. Their proper projection not as 'Avtars' but as historical personages can go a long way towards real integration of the country. They kept the country together for ages past when there were no modern means of communications and when the country was divided into a number of States, some of them under the control of foreign rulers. They can surely play that role even more effectively now only if the powers that be develop the correct approach to the problem of national integration.

Indians in general and Muslim Indians in particular

can learn a lesson from Indonesia in this regard.

If steps are taken to implant the image of Bharat Mata from Himalayas to the Seas in the heart of every child from the early school days and he is taught to look upon the national flag as a symbol of the nation whose honour is his honour, foundation will be laid of national consciousness in every citizen of the country.

School age is the time for developing a sense of oneness with one's society and environments. Children like to behave as equals to whatever caste, creed or strata of society they may belong. That creates mutual respect in them. That is why in the ancient Indian system of education princes had to rub shoulders with commoner boys in the Gurukuls even though nobody then talked of a casteless and classless society.

Things are quite the opposite today. In the name of socialism all kinds of new class distinctions are being created. The wards of the rich must go to public schools, with English medium and the wards of the poor should go to equally poor municipal schools. Even the principle of neighbourhood schools is not acceptable to India's socialist rulers. National integration must begin from school. If there is no integration in schools there can be no integration in outside life as well.

The way some religious communities are sticking to certain languages for communal reasons is also a hurdle in the way of Indianisation and national integration. There is nothing wrong in learning English or Urdu. The author began his education with Urdu and earns his living through English. But for any one to demand that his child be given education in a Urdu school or an English medium school simply because he belongs to a particular caste or community and for the government to concede that demand is wrong and

dangerous. Jamaat-i-Islami has recently declared that Urdu is the language of all Muslims and that it should be taught to them as such. That is why demand is being made for opening Urdu schools in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu and pressure is being built up to give second language status to Urdu in a number of North Indian States. There can be no objection to some one wanting to learn Urdu. But to segregate the Marathi speaking Muslim children from Marathi speaking other children in an Urdu school is to cut at the roots of national integration and is a negation of Indianisation. For all Maratha children, to whatever caste or community they may belong, Marathi language should come first.

Urdu is once again becoming a symbol of Muslim separatism. This is neither good for Urdu nor for Muslims. Urdu will flourish in India because of its literature in the making of which non-Muslims have played an equally important role and not because of Muslims. But it will have to take to Dev Nagri script progressively.

It is wrong to bind any language with a particular script. All the European languages, though quite different from one another, are written in the same script. This is a great help to learning of different European languages and in creating a common European outlook. Dev Nagri is already the common script of India. It happens to be the most scientific script too. Dewan-i-Ghalib, a great Urdu classic, written in Dev Nagri script, has been sold in lakhs while that written in Persian script has few buyers. Therefore, introduction of a common script and discouragement to any language getting bound with any religious community is very important for Indian unity. And this

can be best done through a correct policy about education.

History plays a great part in shaping the minds of men. It is a great vehicle for building up national feeling as well. India has a long and chequered history. It has its share of glory and decay, victories and defeats, heroes and traitors. But with all this it is one whole which gives us a panoramic view of India's growth from Vedic past to the present day.

Proper approach to history is to treat facts as sacred and interpret them to suit the social needs of the day. But what is being done in India is quite different.

In the name of secularism, historical facts are being distorted or whitewashed to suit the ideological or political convenience of the powers that be. For example Aurangzeb is sought to be presented as a liberal ruler and therefore Jaziya is explained to be just a tax which all governments have to levy to keep themselves going. This kind of distortion is having quite the opposite effect on the younger generation which anyway knows the glaring facts of our history even without reading the text-books.

This tampering with history and removal of references to India's traditional heroes and heroines from the text-books in the name of secularism and eradication of communalism is most impolitic and may have the opposite effect. Historical memories cannot be effaced by whitewashing the history. They have become part of the country's heritage and got stuck to the race mind. The proper thing is to let the rising generation know about these things. It is the job of the teachers and leaders to create admiration for right things and revulsion for wrong things irrespective of

the creed of the person or persons who might have done them. That is the approach to history adopted in all countries of the world except those under the control of Communists for whom regimentation of mind on a particular pattern is essential for maintaining their authoritarian regimes. In Britain, for example, never has attempt been made to hide the fact of Queen Mary having burnt Sir Thomas More and hundreds of other Protestants on the stakes. But the Indian secularists want the Indian people not to know the misdeeds of Aurangzeb and martyrdom of Guru Teg Bahadur and many other saints and patriots at his hands. If they want to create respect for an Indianised Akbar they must condemn the un-Indian and inhuman conduct of Aurangzeb.

The same is true in regard to places of worship. Indianisation demands that places of worship of all creeds should be respected. But the so-called secularists and opponents of Indianisation who raised such a hue and cry against the arson in Al Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem by a lunatic have not a word to say against desecration and demolition of temples and other places of worship by past and present fanatics. Even a Muslim like Kamal Pasha found it difficult to reconcile himself to the use of the Church of Saint Sophia in Constantinople as a mosque. As a via media he converted it into a museum. But here in India some of the holiest places of the country like the birthplaces of Shri Ram and Shri Krishna are still in the hands of Muslims. It is true they did not demolish these temples and built mosques in their places. That was the work of barbarians like Aurangzeb. But has the conscience of any so-called "nationalist" Muslim or their secularist patrons been ever pricked by such ghastly sights which con-

tinue to be the greatest barrier in the way of emotional integration of our people? Truly Indianised Muslims will offer these places to those whom they belonged voluntarily and I am sure that this gesture will be reciprocated by construction of new mosques for them nearby.

It is the job of education and educationists to create this kind of atmosphere and consciousness in the country. I know it for certain that there are many Muslims in India who hold the same views. But they are afraid of speaking out their mind for fear of victimisation at the hands of those for whom Aurangzeb is an ideal Muslim King and Akbar a heretic.

Indianisation of educational system in general to suit Indian conditions and make it a vehicle for creating consciousness and pride of being an Indian is, therefore, very essential for Indianisation of the Indian classes. The masses so far have remained generally untouched by the de-Indianising effects of education. But education has to reach them too sooner or later. Therefore, reform in the educational system, induction of moral and national content in it and use of Hindi and other national languages as media of instruction up to the highest stage with a planned effort to make every Indian know Bhasha Bharti and Dev Nagri script is most urgent. The name "Bhasha Bharti" instead of Hindi for the common language of the country should be popularised. This Bhasha Bharti will have as many shades as the linguistic regions of our vast country. Bhasha Bharti spoken and used in North Western parts of India will have more words of Persian and Turkish origin and the Bhasha Bharti of Tamil Nadu will have more of Tamil influence on it. It must draw upon the current words and technical terms in all the Indian

languages and fall back to Sanskrit where no current word is available. Some of the current English words will also have to be Indianised and incorporated in Bhasha Bharti.

VI

National fairs and festivals play a great role in moulding the minds of men in any country. India is in a very happy position in this respect. It has a number of festivals which are celebrated all over the country in one form or the other. Most of such festivals are connected with seasons though they have come to have some mythical or historical associations as well. Most important of such festivals are Onam, Vasant, Holi, Baisakhi, Deepawali and Dussehra.

Makar Sankaranti and Maghi in some parts of the country marks the movement of the Sun from Dakshinayan to Uttarayan and, therefore, marks the climax of winter and beginning of the new year. This is celebrated all over the country. 'Gur' and 'til' are specially used in all parts of the country in this festival.

Vasant ushers in the spring and as such is a purely seasonal festival. It has also come to be treated as festival of students who worship the goddess of learning–Saraswati–on that day. Association of goddess Saraswati with Vasant and students is not confined to India alone. Saraswati is specially adored by students in Japan and elsewhere as well.

Holi is the May-pole day of India. It is a festival of gaiety and abandon in which all social barriers are broken. As such it is a festival of social cohesion as well. It is particularly the festival of the common people, symbolised by Kisan, the sturdy peasant of India.

Dussehra or Vijay Dashmi is the army day of India

since ages past. It is the day of victory of good over evil. It is also the day for adoration of arms and armed men who are as much essential for the existence of a nation as the farmers and others. It is a festival of "Jawans" par excellence. Jai Jawan and Jai Kisan go together. There will be no victory (Jai) for Bharat without Jai for Jawan and Kisan.

Deepawali which traditionally marks the home coming of Shri Ram after the conquest of Lanka also marks the end of summer and beginning of autumn. It marks the end of harvesting of summer crops and beginning of sowing of the winter crops. As such it marks the traditional beginning of the new financial year in India. It is why it has become specially associated with the business class and the worship of Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth. All over India traders of all religions start their new ledgers on this day.

Till recently these festivals were observed in common by all Indians irrespective of caste and creed. Akbar, though a Muslim, patronised them officially. It is a well-known historical fact that when the envoy of the Amir of Afghanistan in the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh begged to be excused from taking part in Holi because he was a Muslim, the lion of Punjab reminded him that it was the festival of India and not of any religious community and then himself threw coloured water on him.

These festivals have to be distinguished from denominational festivals like Janam Ashtami, Shivaratri, Buddha Purnima, Gur-Parav, Rishi Bodh Ustav, Id, Muharram and Christmas which cannot be treated as national festivals. They are the festivals of different religious communities and are connected with the lives of the founders of the different religious sects and paths

of worship prevailing in India. They naturally have sectarian character and sectarian appeal even though it would be in the fitness of things and in keeping with Indian tradition if people of all faiths participate in them too.

But so far as national festivals are concerned, they are a class apart. They should not be mixed up with the festivals of different religious groups. The State should take the initiative in celebrating these festivals in a really national way. If that is done, these national festivals can become a very big factor for national integration and Indianisation of the people.

With the development of modern means of communication distance is being eliminated and there is greater mixing up of people from different parts of the country than was possible in the past. This process has been further accelerated by the coming up of huge administrative and industrial complexes in different parts of the country where workers coming from all parts of the country live together. The armed forces and cantonments or military stations in which they live provide the best example of community living where men from different castes and religious groups meet with a common purpose.

All these can be utilised for fostering a spirit of nationalism and Indianness in the people with a little effort. A good job in this respect is being done by the Defence Forces. Their example can be usefully emulated by other organisations which provide for joint working and living of large number of diverse people at one place.

Greater attention and encouragement to internal tourism and pilgrimage through facilities of special trains, and cheap accommodation at places of tourist

interest can also help the process.

Selection and development of a few spots of national importance which can provide a panoramic view of the history of the land on the model of Williamberg in U.S.A. will also be helpful from the point of view of Indianisation. Taxila and Mohenjo Daro could be two such spots. But they are now lost to us. Patliputra (Patna), Nalanda, Kanyakumari, Srinagar (Kashmir) and Chitor Garh are some of the spots which can be developed, equipped and popularised from this point of view. Special auditoriums and studios should be built in such places where films depicting the history of such places from remote past to the present day together with the lives of the military, political, cultural and literary luminaries connected with them should be displayed. Special efforts should be made to take students and other visitors to such places.

Then there are places of importance from the point of view of recent history. The Samadhis of Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukhdev on the bank of the Sutlej near Ferozepur, Jalianwala Bagh at Amritsar, Red Fort at Delhi, Sabarmati Ashram at Ahmedabad, Tilak Mandir at Poona, Netaji's home at Calcutta, have a special place in the history of freedom struggle against the British. These places must be developed and popularised as tourist centres. The history of the freedom struggle and the role played by the countless known and unknown revolutionaries, patriots and martyrs can be depicted there in pictures and explained through specially prepared films. As things are, rising generation knows little about the role of Bal, Pal, Lal, of Bhagat Singh, Dass and Datt, of Dayanand and Vivekanand, of Isfaq Ullah and Hakim Ajmal Khan, of Veer Savarkar and Bhai Parmanand or of Master Amir Chand

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These are some of the ways and means, programmes and plans by which the concept of Indianisation can be translated into practice. Their implementation does not require much funds. What it requires is a burning sense of patriotism and nationalism, an imaginative and constructive thinking and a robust faith in the future of India in those who claim to be the democratic leaders of the country. They include both the rulers and their critics, the Government and the opposition in Parliament and outside. But that demands honesty of purpose and determination to place the country above the party, sect, caste or region which is possible only if the politicians get Indianised. The heart and mind of the Indian people is still sound. But to get the right response one must touch the right chord and create the right type of motivation. The way Indian nationalism asserted and acquitted itself at the time of Chinese invasion of 1962 and Pakistani invasion of 1965 creates the hope that everything is not lost and that embers of nationalism call still be transformed into a burning flame. There must be leaders who can do that. The present leadership has failed and is failing the country. It does not have the flame of patriotism in it. So it cannot lit that flame in others. Therefore, either it must be Indianised or forced to quit to make room for better and patriotic people. Mother India has still enough treasure of men that can make India great and strong. They have to be found out and given opportunity to lead the country. Maybe the situation itself will throw them up, and blow away the

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chaff that has masqueraded too long as the grain.

Let all patriotic Indians strive to that end. Let Indianisation triumph so that the dreams of those who are striving for another partition of the Motherland be smashed once for all.

ANNEXURE I

JANA SANGH ON INDIANISATION—I

The resolution on Indianisation passed by Bharatiya Jana Sangh, at its Plenary Session held at Kanpur, in December, 1952, under the Presidentship of Late Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji.

It is the considered view of the Jana Sangh which is borne out by the history of other countries as well that geographical unity alone cannot sustain nationalism. So long as the people of India shared a common national outlook and owned a common culture, its unity and nationalism were preserved in spite of its being divided into a number of states. It was only when the foreign rulers of this country for their selfish political ends ignored and denigrated Indian way of life and culture and tried to impose foreign mode of life and culture on it, that Indian nationalism got undermined. As a result in spite of loud declaration about India being one nation, the two nation theory reflecting Muslim communalism triumphed, the country was partitioned and it was made impossible for non-Muslims to live in the areas included in Pakistan. On the other hand the mentality behind the two nation theory continues to get sustenance in truncated India by the policy of the bolstering up of Muslim separatism through encouragement and support to the stand that Muslims have a separate culture. This has become the greatest hurdle in the way of national reconstruction and natural unity.

Therefore, Jana Sangh resolves that in the interest of proper evolution of Indian nationalism and a national outlook it is essential that the concept of the whole of India and all its people irrespective of their way of worship, sect or region being one nation with one culture be

stressed and propagated among the people. To achieve that end the people and Government must act on the following lines:

1. Education should be based on national culture and tradition. Knowledge about Upnishadas, Bhagvad Geeta, Ramayana, Mahabharata and the literature and literary figures of the modern Indian languages who have contributed towards revival and preservation of Indian cultural traditions be disseminated and efforts should be made to bring that day nearer when knowledge about this common cultural stream will be considered essential by people of all parts of the country.

2. Birthdays of national heroes and other national days be celebrated in a national way in which all people irrespective of caste, creed or region should participate and the Government should extend its administrative and monetary co-operation for such celebrations.

3. The major festivals of the country like Holi, Diwali, Raksha Bandhan and Vijay Dashmi be treated as national festivals and celebrated as such.

4. Special attention should be paid to development of national and regional language and their use in all fields of activity so that the Indian life may develop on the basis of national culture and genius.

5. Sanskrit language should be revived and its knowledge be made compulsory for all votaries of higher learning. At the same time Dev-nagri should be popularised and accepted as the common script for all the Indian languages.

6. Indian History should be so re-written that it may become the record of the Indian people and not merely of foreign invaders and conquerors. The division of history into periods should be based not on the names of foreign invaders but on the basis of social movements and revolutions which have played a vital part in the evolution of the Indian society. The story of expansion of Indian thought and culture outside India should have a special place in the text books on Indian history.

7. It is essential for the cultural uplift and national unity that Hindu society removes its internal weaknesses. Particular attention should be paid by it to the removal

of social disparities and creation of a sense of oneness in all sections of Hindu society by uplifting the backward sections and removing the feeling of high and low on the basis of caste. To that end it is essential that social and religious festivals be celebrated in a collective and disciplined way and co-operation of all strata of society be received in such celebrations.

Along with this internal reform it is the duty of the Hindu society to make concerted efforts to Indianise those sections of the Indian society which have been cut off from the national mainstream because of the influence of foreign invaders and foreign missionaries or have remained cut off from it for other reasons.

ANNEXURE II

JANA SANGH ON INDIANISATION—II

Resolution of Bharatiya Jana Sangh Passed at Plenary Session at Patna on 30th December, 1969

The spate of communal riots, rapid erosion of the rule of law, determined attempts to disrupt the unity of the country and subvert democracy and constitutional government in different parts has created an explosive situation which if not tackled quickly and effectively may have dangerous repercussions.

The communal riots, of which those at Ahmedabad, Jagatdal and Varanasi are the latest examples, have a set pattern. They are invariably started by that section of the Indian Muslims which has stuck to the ideology which led to the partition of the Motherland in 1947, with the direct or indirect help and abetment of the C.P.I., C.P.M., and a section of the Congress Party which have developed vested interest in perpetuating communalism and separatism among the Muslim and keeping them away from the mainstream of Indian life so that they may have the monopoly of their votes in the elections.

Government's failure to prevent the outbreak of disturbances, and later to control them once they got started, has made the situation more serious. Rioters, to whatever community they may belong, ought to be dealt with sternly under the law.

The communally motivated West Asian Policy of the Government of India which impelled it to gate-crash into Islamic Conference at Rabat and invite insult and humiliation of the whole country, its policy of lionising Al-Fatah saboteurs and the planned working up of a communal frenzy all over the country in the name of protest against arson in Al-Aksa Mosque in Jerusalem have fur-

ther roused and strengthened extra-territorial loyalties among a section of the Indian Muslims. Pakistan and her agents are taking advantage of this situation to egg them on to adopt aggressive postures resulting in riots which add grist to Pakistan propaganda mills against India. That Pakistan is striving for another partition of India has become clear from the recent writings of Mr. Bhutto, Maulana Bhashani, and the memorandum submitted by a number of Muslim organisations to the High Commissioner of India at London. The continued infiltration of Pakistani Muslims in the border states of Assam, West Bengal, Bihar, and Jammu and Kashmir which has been intensified of late points to the same designs of Pakistan on Indian territory.

The dependence of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's government on the Muslim League and support of other elements susceptible to communal and sectional appeals of Mr. Fakhar-ud-Din Ali Ahmed and Mr. Jagjivan Ram has given a new import to the communal problem which cannot be ignored by any nationalist.

The Communist Parties which never made any secret of their determination to wreck the constitution, subvert democracy and disrupt the unity of India are exploiting this situation to serve their ends. They have forged an alliance with Muslim League and pro-Pakistan elements all over the country which has already replaced the Congress-Muslim alliance in the states like West Bengal, Assam and Kerala.

Formation of Mallapuram district in Kerala, the audacity and intransigence of anti-India elements in Jammu and Kashmir and friendliness of Chief Minister Sadiq towards them and the reign or terror let loose by C.P.M. in West Bengal are some of the fruits of this anti-national alliance.

The growing feeling of regionalism and sub-regionalism partly born out of imbalances in economic development has become another major threat to peace and unity of the country. With the weakening of the Central Government attempts are being made to develop and project the personality of different states even at the cost of the personality of the country.. The state boundaries

have begun to be treated as more sacrosanct than the boundaries of the country which have been steadily shrinking. The formation of sub-State of Meghalaya in Assam has given encouragement to protagonists of sub-regional States in other parts of the country.

The general economic unrest in the country with growing unemployment and frustration among the youth is being further aggravated by the false hopes aroused by Indira Government coupled with policies which are actually retarding production and curtailing employment opportunities. This has created a situation which is ideally suited to the operation of Communist technique of creating lawlessness and anarchy in the country as a prelude to taking over of the State apparatus by them with the help of indoctrinated minority. The forcible occupation of land by them in West Bengal and Kerala and their terrorist activities which have created a general sense of fear and insecurity give a clear inkling of their plans and designs. Naxalites are outdoing them in this regard. They have extended their activities to Kerala, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and other states. Their emergence as an all India Party with open commitment to violence and Maoism has added new dimensions to the Communist menace.

This situation demands urgent attention and concerted effort on the part of all patriotic parties and elements irrespective of their differences in regard to other matters.

The Jana Sangh takes serious note of the increasing interference of foreign powers. Broadcasts relayed by Moscow Radio and Radio Peace and Progress and reports appearing in Russia's government-controlled press regarding happenings in India cannot but be regarded as gross interference in our internal matters.

Western counries also have been exerting to expoit India's illiteracy and poverty by using their economic aid measure, their cheap and provocative literature, and, above all, their missionaries as instruments for a campaign of mass conversion. Jana Sangh strongly condemns their activities as well. We want to warn these foregin powers not to indulge in activities that violate India's sovereignty and independence and demand that the Government of

India take stern measures to curb them.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh being the champion of Indian nationalism and committed to preservation and strengthening of Indian unity feels particularly concerned over this state of affairs, and demands that:—

1. Every effort should be made to revive and strengthen the sense of nationalism which is the sum total of cohesive forces in any country. This requires a clear understanding of the concept of nationalism and its main-springs.
2. Indianisation—by which we mean the subordination of all narrow loyalties like those of religion, caste, region, language or dogma to the overriding loyalty to the nation of all fissiparous elements, especially of those with extra-territorial loyalties or allegiance, overt or covert, to the two-nation theory.
3. A permanent tribunal should be set up to tackle inter-state disputes of all types. The decision of such a Commission should be binding on the parties concerned.
4. Immediate steps should be taken to extend the Constitution of India to the Jammu and Kashmir State to bring it in line with other States and also to implement fully the recommendations of Gajendragadkar Commission in regard to separate development boards for the Kashmir Valley, Jammu and Ladakh with a clear division of development funds between these three regions.
5. A high powered commission should be set up to look into regional and sub-regional economic imbalances and backwardness and suggest remedies to remove the same.
6. With the lapse of Preventive Detention Act, the need for enacting a law of treason has become an imperative necessity. This law should define treason and treasonable activities and lay down deterrent punishment for all persons and parties indulging in such activities.

ANNEXURE III

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME MINISTRY'S REVIEW OF COMMUNAL RIOTS

Brief description of the major communal incidents in the country during the year 1968, and first quarter of the year 1969

1. CHIKAMAGALORE (Mysore) (6-1-1968)

The Muslim graveyard and the Hindu cremation ground in Chikamagalore are situated close to each other. For many years past the Hindus have been taking dead bodies to the cremation ground through the graveyard. Some days before the riot a stone wall was erected round the graveyard. On 6-1-1968, in the morning, in order to take a dead body to the cremation ground, the Hindus demolished a part of the wall. The Muslims reported the matter to the police, who registered a case against the concerned Hindus. In the afternoon another Hindu dead body was brought through the passage made by the demolition. There was no resistance from the Muslims at the time when the body was brought in. Then about 500 persons, both Muslims and Hindus, collected at the place and tension grew. Some rowdy elements started pelting stones. Thus began the riot in which there were cases of assault and arson. According to the estimate made by the local revenue officers the loss of property in the riot was of the order of Rs. 5 lakhs.

2. MEERUT (Uttar Pradesh) (28-1-1968 to 2-2-1968)

On 28-1-1968, Jamiat-ul-Ulema had organised its conference in the Faiz-e-Am College and had invited Sheikh Abdullah to address the conference. There was resentment among the Hindus against this invitation. A 'Kashmir Bachao Morcha' was formed by local Hindu Maha-

Sabba and Bhartiya Jana Sangh leaders. On 28-1-1968 a public meeting, attended by about 200 persons, was held by the Morcha at Baisali ground, in close vicinity of the Faiz-e-Am College at about 4 p.m. The assembly formed itself into a procession and reached near Faiz-e-Am College at about 5 p.m. Slogans against Jamiat-ul-Ulema and Sheikh Abdullah were raised. The Muslim crowd, assembled within the compound of the college, started throwing brickbats on the processionists. Some Muslims carrying lathis came out of the gate to attack the processionists, who attempted to run away. The police force which tried to check the Muslims was also attacked by them. Some Muslims came out from the neighbouring Mohalla Macchiran and attacked the Hindus and the police. The Hindu processionists who retreated and dispersed in various directions carried the news of the Muslim attack to the Hindu localities. This triggered off a series of incidents of stabbing and assault. Till 2-2-1968, 16 Muslims were killed and 73 Muslims and 19 Hindus injured. 59 policemen also received injuries.

3. KARIMGANJ (Assam) (2-3-1968 to 11-3-1968)

On 29th February, 1968 one Hindu boy of Karimganj town while going to impound a cow was obstructed by a Muslim boy of the same locality, who tried to snatch away the cow. An altercation took place between them and the Hindu boy was assaulted by the Muslim boy, who had, by then, been joined by another Muslim. The matter was attempted to be settled at a 'Bichar' by elders of both the communities on 2-3-1968. The Muslim boy was found guilty and was informally fined Rs. 200 by the Panchayat. Later, however, he refused to pay the penalty. This gave rise to ill-feelings between the two communities. On that day a rally had been organised by C.P.I. (M) to press their demands for allotment of land to the landless. While the procession was passing through the town a large mob consisting of members of both the communities collected and started indulging in pelting stones. Some houses were set on fire. After the use of 17 teargas shells the crowd could be dispersed. That started the riot. There were clashes between the Hindus

and Muslim at various places in the town. It may be mentioned that there were repercussions of this riot in the Pakistani town across the river, which flows by Karimganj. Rumours of cruelty to Hindus in that town also had the effect of intensifying the riot in Karimganj. In all 7 persons (all Muslims) died. 15 Hindus and 28 Muslims received injuries. About 120 Houses were burnt. The loss of property is estimated to be of the order of Rs. 7 lakhs.

4. VIZHINJAM (Trivandrum, Kerala) (11-3-1968)

From 7-3-1968 to 10-3-1968 clashes between Muslims and Christians had taken place at Poovar in Trivandrum district, which were due to long standing discord between the two communities over a 30 mile coastal stretch from Kollengode to Veli. The Christians who were mostly fishermen were harbouring a feeling that they had been exploited by the Muslims who took the fish from them in bulk and sold it with good profit. Some Muslims were also fishermen. There were clashes between them and the Christians over fishing rights in the seas. The Christians, by and large, supported the Congress or the Kerala Congress, while the Muslims were pro-Muslim league. This had aggravated the tension in the area, particularly after the installation of the United Front Government in 1967. Beating up a Christian boy by a Muslim at Poovar had provided the spark for violent incidents which took place in Poovar. On 11-3-1968 at Vizhinjan, which is about five miles from Poovar, trouble started at about 8-30 p.m., when the Muslims embarked on aggressive violent acts against the Catholics of the area. The attacks were organised and pre-planned. A large number of Muslims collected near the beach on a signal given from a mosque, in the absence of Catholic fishermen who had gone to the sea for fishing. All Muslim shops were immediately closed, road blocks were placed and electric wires were cut. The Muslims then set fire to Christian huts and boats. On seeing the acts of arson the Christian fishermen rushed back to the coast from the sea. A clash between the two communities followed in which the Muslims were in the majority. Lethal weapons were used. The Muslims prevented the

fire brigade from going into operation and even assaulted a fire officer. They also surrounded a small police party which had to fire in self-defence. Additional police force which reached the scene restored order by using lathi charge and by resorting to more firing. In the riot 4 Muslims and I Christian died. A large number of persons received injuries. Property worth many lakhs of rupees was destroyed.

5. CALCUTTA (West Bengal) (15-3-1968 to 17-3-1968)

At about 2 p.m. on 14th March, 1968, the 'Holi' day, a few intoxicated Muslim youngmen who were taking bath in a tank inside the compound of the police quarters at 49, Narkeldanga North Road, made indecent overtures to a Hindu girl, who was also taking bath in the same tank. The girl reported the matter to her fellow dwellers of the Basti nearby. 5/6 Hindu youngmen assaulted those Muslims with fists and blows. At about 2-30 p.m. a group of Muslims numbering about 60 wanted to make their way through the police quarters compound in order to take revenge for the assault on those Muslim youngmen. The residents of the quarters offered resistance and a fight ensued between the Muslims and the residents. Bottles and brickbats were freely used. The Muslims, armed with swords and daggers, were in an aggressive mood and the police party which reached the spot was subjected to intensive brickbatting. The situation was brought under control after use of teargas. In this incident altogether 17 policemen received injuries, of whom 5 were admitted in the hospital. Two Muslims also received minor injuries. Later in the afternoon 2 Hindus while returning home from their work along Narkeldanga North Road were waylaid and assaulted by the Muslims. One of them managed to escape with serious injuries while the other remained missing till his dead body in a decomposed state was found six days later in a nearby canal. This started the riot, in which till 27-3-1968 the police had to fire on 7 occasions and to use teargas on 5 occasions. Three Muslims and one Hindu lost their lives while 8 Muslims and 6 Hindus were admitted to hospital with serious injuries. Another 23 persons re-

ceived minor injuries. Precise assessment of the loss to property has not been reported to us, though it must have been considerable.

6. ALLAHABAD (Uttar Pradesh) (16-3-1968 to 31-3-1968)

The 'Holi' festival was to start from 15-3-1968. According to Intelligence reports there was no particular apprehension of trouble in the city. However, elaborate police and magisterial arrangements had been made by the district authorities. The 15th passed off peacefully. On the 16th at about 10 a.m. coloured water was thrown by Holi revellers on a Muslim in the area of police station Khuldabad, whereupon that person pulled out a pistol. This was followed by brickbatting from the adjoining Muslim houses. Soon thereafter, Muslims threw brickbats and bottles in a neighbouring mohalla at the Hindus returning peacefully from the railway station after playing Holi. The police, however, managed to control the situation. At about 1 p.m. a big cloth shop of a Sikh in the area of Police Station Khuldabad was set on fire by the Muslims and cloth was looted from another Sikh shop. The mob had spears and lathis. When it was ordered to disperse resistance was offered to the police. They resorted to brickbatting and even a constable was fired at. One Muslim took out a pistol and aimed at the Magistrate. This was noticed in time by a head constable, who fired at him injuring him on the shoulder. The police had to resort to firing to disperse this determined and aggressive mob. At about 1-15 p.m. a Muslim started firing his gun from his house top, which caused lot of panic. At about 1-30 p.m. a Hindu was stabbed in the area of police station Kotwali. This is how the riot started which could be controlled only on 31st March, 1968. One Hindu and three Muslims lost their lives. 24 Hindus and 25 Muslims were injured. There was considerable loss to property.

7. AUDITAND (Hazaribagh, Bihar) (7-4-1968)

A Ramnaumi procession was taken out by the Hindus in village Auditand (Gridih). While the procession was passing in front of the village mosque, some Muslims

objected to its alleged slow movement and threw brickbats on the processionists. The Hindus also thew brickbats which was followed by a clash between the two communities, the arson and serious rioting resulting in the death of three Muslims and injuries to 20 Muslims and some Hindus. 21 houses of Muslims and one of a Hindu were burnt. Some property of Muslims was also looted. The police registered cases.

8. MANGALORE (Mysore) (18-4-1968 to 20-4-1968)

Following a quarrel between a Muslim and a Hindu fisherman over gambling, rioting occurred at Kadroli, a suburb of Mangalore town, between Moplahas (Muslims) and Mogaviras (Hindu fishermen) on the night of 18-4-1968. The Muslim had assaulted a Hindu fisherman and on retaliation had run and taken shelter in a mosque. Some Mogaviras collected and assaulted that Muslim after entering the mosque. Muslims collected in groups and started assaulting Hindus passing that way. Thereafter, Hindu fishermen collected in large numbers and attacked Muslims, looted shops and indulged in arson. Police had to open fire on 5 occasions. One Hindu lost his life. The loss of property is estimated to be about Rs. 3 lakhs.

9. AURANGABAD (Maharashtra) (8-6-1968 to 10-6-1968)

On 8-6-1968 a Muslim boy and the servant of a bakeryshop in Aurangabad attacked a cow with a knife while it was eating loaves of bread from the shop. Local Hindus collected on the spot and demanded action against the Muslim boy. The boy was arrested with the knife by the police. However, the situation became tense in the city as the news of attack on a cow spread. Hindu and Muslim mobs indulged in stone throwing, looting and setting shops on fire. Firing had to be resorted to disperse the mobs. According to the report of the State Government, 2 Muslims and 1 Hindu died and 24 Hindus and 9 Muslims received injuries. The loss of property is estimated to be of the order of Rs. 9 lakhs.

10. NAGPUR (Maharashtra) (9-6-1968 to 15-6-1968)

On 9-6-1968, there was an altercation between a Neo-

Budha with a Muslim barber over the payment of 75 paise by the former, in the area of police station Panchpoli in Nagpur. The barber later went to the house of the Neo-Budha to demand his money. There was exchange of hot words, followed by a scuffle in which 8 Muslims participated on behalf of the barber and 10 Neo-Budhas from the other side. In the clash three persons on each side received injuries. Cases were registered by the police against both the parties and some persons were taken into custody. On 10-6-1968 the rumour spread that one of the injured Neo-Budhas had succumbed to his injuries. Though the rumour was contradicted by the local police there was a case of arson in the area of police station Panchpoli, which was followed by a clash between Muslims and Neo-Budhas. A large number of huts belonging to both the communities were set on fire. Teargas was used to disperse the mob. According to the report of the State Government 26 persons died in the riots and 240 houses/huts belonging to both the communities and a cinema hall were destroyed.

11. PARBHANI (Maharashtra) (18-1-1968)

A serious communal riot broke out at Parbhani when a Hindu college student was stabbed on 18th August, 1968 by one Muslim rickshaw-puller. On the next day the college students took out a procession and 'en route' damaged and looted some Muslim shops. The Muslims retaliated and also set fire to some Hindu shops. 29 Hindu-owned shops were either burnt or damaged causing a loss of Rs. 8,67,330. The damage to Muslim property was estimated to be Rs. 15,58,700. 17 Hindus and 4 Muslims were injured. The communal trouble at Parbhani gave rise to repercussions at Nanded, Ambajogai (Bihar) and Aurangabad.

12. AMBAJOGAI (Bihar, Maharashtra) (20-8-1968)

At Ambajogai students organised two meetings to condemn the attack on the student of Parbhani. After the meetings, the mob, mostly consisting of high school students, pelted stones and threw away goods of small traders of both communities. An armed Muslim mob (50)

retaliated by indulging in arson and assaults on Hindus. The activities of the Muslim mob provoked the Hindus to retaliate by resorting to arson. In all 65 shops were burnt or damaged causing a loss of Rs. 2,25,600. Eight Hindu students were injured by the Muslims.

13. PUPRI (Muzaffarpur, Bihar) (1-10-1968)

While a Durga immersion procession was proceeding from Pupri to Pupri Bazar on 1-10-1968, the procession changed its scheduled route and passed through a Muslim inhabited area. At this point some brickbats were thrown on the processionists with the result that the angry crowd of processionists set fire to a betel shop and some houses in Pupri Bazar. The number of houses affected by loot and arson was 18 (including 6 shops). In the clashes 7 persons (all Muslims) were killed and 17 persons also injured.

14. GUMDUM (Kurnool, Andhra Pradesh) (2-10-1968)

On the night of October 2, a religious procession of Hindus carrying on idol approached a mosque at Gumdum when some Muslims started pelting stones on the processionists. The Hindus retaliated but the police intervened and resorted to lathi charge and firing, resulting in the death of one Hindu. The mob of both Hindus and Muslims which ultimately dispersed, set fire to 3 houses, 47 shops, 2 transport buses and one erected cinema. The total loss of property is estimated to be Rs. 2,00,000.

15. CUTTACK (Orissa) (25-11-1968 to 27-11-1968)

The Supreme Court judgement upholding the right of the religious processions to pass in front of mosques with the accommpaniment of music created tension in city. In the evening of November 25, about 300 students of the Christ College, Cuttack took out a procession with a band party to celebrate their victory in intercollege football tournament. While they were passing by a mosque, stones were pelted on them and a group of about 12 Muslims rushed out of the mosque with lathis charging towards the procession. The students ran away in panic but two

of them received minor injuries. As the news of this incident spread in the town, there were several cases of assault on Muslims. About a dozen shops of Muslims were set on fire while some others were looted. On next day (November 26), more cases of arson and looting occurred in the town. About a dozen shops of Muslims were again looted and burnt. Students also participated in these violent acts.

16. VEERAVAL (Junagadh, Gujarat) (26-11-1968)

The burying of the dead of a Muslim within the precincts of his own house led the local Hindus to protest to the District authorities at Junagadh on 15-11-1968. When the call for hartal on November 26 failed, some sections of Hindus tried to enforce success by use of force. This led to clashes which were followed by cases of arson and loot. 57 persons were injured, 4 Muslims were killed and the loss of property was estimated at Rs. 4 lakhs.

17. KENDRAPARA (Cuttack) (30-1-1969)

On 30-1-1969, in Kendrapara (Cuttack) a procession taking the idol of Saraswati for immersion accompanied by music was attacked with brickbats by Muslims when it approached the Jumma mosque. A clash ensued. The police opened fire to control the situation, killing three Muslims and an unidentified person. Six Muslims were also injured in the clash. The processionists thereafter dispersed and indulged in arson and looting of the Muslim shops and houses. Twenty shops and 4 residential houses of Muslims were affected.

18. CALCUTTA, (30-1-1969 to 3-2-1969)

On January 30 about 400 Muslims, mostly students, staged a demonstration before the office of the 'Statesman,' Calcutta, demanding an apology for the publication of an article by A. J. Toyanbee, in the 'Statesman Supplement' on January 26, 1969, in which Prophet Mohammed was compared with Mahatma Gandhi. They shouted slogans like "Burn down 'Statesman,'" "Destroy the Press," etc. Some of the representatives of the Muslim students met the Chief Editor who refused to apologize.

While dispersing, the demonstrators threw brickbats at the Stateman office and, on the intervention of the police attacked the police with soda water bottles, brickbats, etc. Again on January 31, a procession of Muslims (400) reached the Statesman House, carrying black flags and shouted slogans. As a precautionary measure, trams and buses were withdrawn from the area and nearby shops were closed. Police pickets were posted.

Later the number of demonstrators swelled to 1,000 and some of them threw brickbats at the Statesman office and shouted anti-Congress slogans. They indulged in rowdyism, damaged street lights and broke glass window panes: The police fired teargas shells to disperse the demonstrators. On Dharamatala Street some Hindus objected to the raising of black flags on the Tipu Sultan mosque. Both Hindus and Muslims threw brickbats at each other. A few Muslim stalls were set on fire. A group of Muslims clashed with the Police. The Police had to use teargas and lathicharge and eventually open fire, killing 3 persons; 7 persons died due to bomb explosion. Of these 4 persons, 3 were Muslims and fourth was a Hindu. Sixty-three persons were injured out of whom 21 had received bullet injuries. The Statesman authorities expressed regret on the afternoon of January 31 over the publication of the article.

19. ANJAR (Gujarat) (28-2-1969)

On February 28, 1969 one Yusuf Sidiq dashed his cycle against one Virji Sorathia in Anjar (Kutch). This led to a scuffle in which Yusuf was joined by his father Abdulla. Abdulla gave stick blows to Virji and also to Shankar Lal who came to his rescue. Shankar Lal who was severely hit succumbed to the injuries. The news of his death created tension in the town. Ten shops of Muslims were looted and set on fire. The doors of a mosque were also set on fire. Later in the evening, one Hindu contractor was assaulted by 4 Muslims and a few others and relieved of Rs. 2,308. The police arrested Abdulla, and registered cases. Strike was observed on March 2 and 3 to protest against the arrests. On March 4, Police had to cane-charge a crowd. The loss of property in the riot is

estimated at Rs. 80,000 (Muslim) and Rs. 12,000 (Hindu).

20. TELINIPARA (Hooghly district) (5-3-1969)

On 5th March there was tension between the non-Bengali Hindus and Muslims over the throwing of coloured water. The Muslims attacked the Hindus, exploded a few crackers and set fire to some Hindu houses. The police intervened and brought the situation under control. Some stray clashes, however, continued to take place in the evening. Four non-Bengali Hindus, who had received stab and cracker injuries, died. Two Muslims were seriously injured. The tension also spread to the Chandranagore police station area. Curfew was imposed.

21. TELINIPARA (30-3-1969)

On March 30, serious communal trouble again erupted in Telinipara when an armed mob of Muslims attacked Hindus and provoked a clash between the two communities. The Muslims also attacked the police outpost at Telinipara. Crackers, brickbats and iron rods were freely used. A basti of Bihari Hindu labourers was set on fire, resulting in the destruction of 100 huts. Some shops were also looted. Hindus also set fire to some Muslim houses and looted their shops. The police had to open fire to disperse the violent mob. Eight persons died due to police firing and 4 due to injuries from crackers and lathis. The police also recovered a huge quantity of weapons like spears, swords, etc., from different areas near Telinipara. Shaken by these riots groups of upcountry Hindu labourers were noticed leaving the area for their homes. Bengali Hindus were not attacked.

22. HUBLI (Mysore) (8-3-1969)

On March 8, a communal riot occurred in the Muslim-dominated Kamaripet area when the Muslims objected to throwing of coloured water on them and the taking out of a procession accompanied with music. This was followed by looting and arson in the course of which shops and houses belonging to both the communities were attacked. Two temples and one 'dargah' were set on fire. The Police opened fire as a result of which 2 Muslims were

killed. One Hindu trapped in a burning house also died. Fifty-nine persons including 23 police personnel sustained injuries. Property worth Rs. 80,000 was destroyed.

23. MAU (Azamgarh—U.P.)

The beating of a Hindu boy by some Muslim boys in Mau Sub-Division on March 29 developed into a serious clash between the two communities. The Muslims even attacked the Police which had to open fire. Curfew was also imposed. On April 1, again there was trouble in which Muslims used fire arms and injured 7 persons. Two dead bodies were recovered near village Khurahat and stray incidents continued. In all 10 persons (nine Muslims, one Hindu) were killed and 207 (Muslims 175, Hindus 32) injured.

(**Note:** Almost same has been the pattern of all communal riots after this report was compiled.)

ANNEXURE IV

THE MUSLIM COMMUNALISM

by Hamid Dalwai

Indian understanding of the true nature of Muslim communalism rests on a major confusion. Most well-meaning Hindus believe that since the Muslims are a minority group, their communalism is defensive in character and is only a reaction to the communalism of the majority community. However, any attempt to determine its character on the basis of numbers is evidently untenable. One can only understand the distinguishing features of the communalism of any group in terms of its ideals and aspirations. In the case of Muslim communalism, this is particularly easy provided one were to take the necessary trouble to study the thoughts and actions of various Muslim leaders, intellectuals and the Ulema. In fairness to them, one should also concede that they have been quite frank in stating what they want to achieve in India.

The historical background of Muslim communalism in India has as its most dominant feature the fact that, in spite of continuous rule of about 800 years, the Muslims could not become a majority group. This is a unique phenomenon in the history of Islam. Wherever else Muslim power was established, majority of the local population embraced Islam in a short period of time. Only in Spain was this process completely reversed, and Islam disappeared altogether from that country as soon as Muslim power was overthrown. The Indian experience has been different from both these types.

Muslim society has not yet come out of the mentality shaped by its earlier history. Orthodox Muslim opinion in India is by and large committed to the view that India has, only for the time being, slipped out of Muslim hands;

it should be brought back under the rule of Islam and the 'Shariat' be established once again. Organizations like the Jamaat-e-Islami, the Jamiyat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind and the Tabligh-e-Jamaat are dedicated to the accomplishment of this task. According to them, jehad must continue uninterrupted, except for reasons of strategy, till India comes under Muslim rule. Some time ago Al Jamiyat, sponsored by the Jamiyat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind put this view in language that could not be misunderstood by anyone. In its weekly issue of March 14, 1968 it stated editorially that the Hindu-Muslim problem could be solved only when there was a '51 per cent Muslim majority' in India. When Pakistani infiltrators entered India in 1965, Maulana Maudoodi issued a fatwa of jehad against India. This fatwa was reproduced without any critical comment by **Dawat**, the Urdu daily of the Jamaat-e-Islami published from Delhi. The origin of the Hindu-Muslim riot at Aurangabad in June, 1968 can be traced to the highly vitriolic speech delivered there a month earlier by Mr. Khalilullah Husaini, President of the Kul Hind Tameer-e-Millat. This organization, as its name indicates, is dedicated to 'strengthening' the Muslim community and seeks to achieve its aim by, among other things, building up an 'Ali Sena' or an 'Islam Sena' for ensuring the defence of the Muslims. Similarly, the root of the recent riot in Ahmedabad extend to the Jamiyat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind conference there in June 1968. Most of the speeches delivered and the resolutions passed in the conference emphasized, in strong language, the Muslim claim to recognition as a nation within a nation, a state within a state. Such illustrations can be multiplied ad infinitum but the few given here would suffice to indicate the type of thinking which to a large extent governs Muslim attitudes in India. The organisations mentioned above have a strong hold among Muslims in rural areas and also among a considerable number of educated ones.

The movement for Pakistan was led by educated Muslims, who believed in the theory of a 'parallel' society and a 'parallel' nationalism, different from and independent of Indian society and Indian nationalism. The movement derived its inspiration from the religion and history

of Islam. As early as 1930 Iqbal asserted that only a legislature composed of Muslims had the right to make laws for Muslims. Even before that, in 1883 Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had demanded a special position for Muslims in view of the fact that they had come here as conquerors. He was opposed to the democratic principle of one man-one vote because it went counter to the demands for a special status for the Muslims of India.

It was to ensure such a special position that educated Muslims strove for through the Muslim League. When they found that this would not be possible in a free, democratic India, they demanded a separate state. Gandhi and the Congress offered democratic equality to Muslims, but neither equality nor composite, secular nationalism was acceptable to them.

It would be wrong to confuse the movement of educated Muslims and that of the orthodox. The latter opposed the demand for Pakistan not because they believed in composite, secular nationalism but because they wanted the whole of India, and not only a part of it, for the missionary work of Islam. In a significant speech that he delivered in 1946, Maulana Husain Ahmed Madni said: "It is the non-Muslims who are the field of action for the "tablight" of Islam and form the raw material for this splendid activity....The Muslims have got a right in all the nooks and corners of India by virtue of the great struggle and grand sacrifices by their ancestors in this country."

In post-partition India no significant differences now exist between western-educated and orthodox Muslims. The Muslim Majlis Mushawarat, which is the united front of Muslim organizations in India, includes in its fold educated Muslims like Dr. A. J. Faridi at one extreme and orthodox Muslims like Maulana Nadvi at the other. The election manifesto of the Mushawarat at the time of the last general election contained a 9-point charter of demands which can only be interpreted as asserting that Muslim Indians constituted a 'sovereign' society. Since the Mushawarat represents practically all the Muslim organisations in Indian politics, it is reasonable to infer that most Muslim Indians subscribe to this view. The

orthodox want a recognition of the separate status of Muslim society in order to promote their religious ambitions; the educated want it because they believe in separate Muslim nationalism. It is true that a few Muslims are opposed to his view, but they are too weak and lack in courage to offer effective opposition to it.

The creation of Pakistan is not the end of this problem. H. S. Suhrawardi said in 1946 that Pakistan was 'not the last but only the latest demand' of Indian Muslims. Their problem still awaited solution at a later date. He recommended the creation of a number of 'Muslim-majority pockets' in India. The birth of the Mallapuram district is therefore only a sign of further demands to come. As a matter of fact, various organizations like the Muslim Majlis, the Progressive Muslim League and the Ittehadul Muslimeen, all of which are constituent units of the Mushawarat, have already made demands for such pockets in U.P., West Bengal and other States of India. The relaxation, on the eve of the mid-term poll, of the service rules enjoining monogamy on Central Government servants whose religion permitted polygamy was effected by the Government of India under the pressure of these organizations. This in turn has lent strength to other communalist demands such as separate electorates and separate courts for Muslims.

Leaders of secular parties, by sticking to old criteria, only lend sanction to such demands. They have so far made no serious effort to understand the true nature of Muslim politics in India. On the contrary, they have always suffered from a nagging feeling that their liberalism was not deep enough to set at rest the legitimate fears of the Muslims, and that the creation of Pakistan was primarily due to this failure on their part. That this understanding was wrong was made clear by no less a person than Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan himself. According to **The Hindu** of April 18, 1946, he declared that the demand for Pakistan today is not based on the fear of a Hindu majority at the Centre. On the other hand, it is the urge of a nation to mould its own ideals and culture and cannot be satisfied without having a full sovereignty which necessarily implies full control over all departments of state

without exception.

The lack of understanding that secular parties exhibit in relation to Muslim communalism stems from the Congress attitude to it in pre-Independence days. Being keen to prevent the partition of India at any cost, Gandhi and the Congress were constantly engaged in 're-assuring', even pampering, the Muslims and inviting them to join the struggle for independence. In the process they consistently connived at Muslim obscurantism and underplayed Muslim communalism provided it was dressed in nationalist garbs. Partition could not be prevented by this approach. However, even after partition, when it had lost all semblance of validity, secular parties have persisted in it—partly for reasons of expediency but basically because they have yet to come out of the old frame of reference. In order to prove their secularist bona fides, they invariably compromise with Muslim communalism. The relaxation of the Central Service Rules mentioned above and the refusal to press for the enactment of a uniform civil code till the demand for it comes from the Muslims themselves are only two examples of this attitude of the Congress party. The leftists have gone even further by conceding the demand for a Muslim-majority Mallapuram district and by supporting Mushawarat demand for the recognition of Urdu as a second official language in a number of States. It may be noted that in none of these states is the constitutional requirement for such recognition satisfied. The only thing that leftist support for the Mushawarat demand achieved was to alienate Hindu opinion in Bihar and U.P., and ultimately lead to the Ranchi riots of August, 1967.

Muslim communalism is once again on the upsurge, which bodes ill not only for the country but also for the Muslims themselves. The growing strength of Muslim communal organizations reminds the Hindus of past history and makes them suspect Muslim bona fides. Unless Government and the secular political parties take note of this development, they would rapidly drive the Hindus to a permanently anti-Muslim position.

Such a denouement can be prevented only if it is realized that the Muslim problem is not the result of a

lack of Hindu liberalism but of the absence of a liberal movement among the Muslims. If such a movement is to arise among the Muslims, Hindu liberals will have to give up their practice of combating Hindu communalism while compromising with Muslim communalism at the same time. Instead, they should carry with them the few liberal Muslims that are there and work for creating a new, liberal society in India. Unless they do this, the Hindus will increasingly develop an anti-Muslim attitude regardless of the party to which they may belong. This would ultimately lead to Hindus and Muslims confronting one another as two religious armies. The prospect is too horrible to contemplate with academic detachment.

(Courtesy: **Times of India, May 17, 1970**)

ANNEXURE V

WHAT IS INDIANISATION?

By M. C. Chagla

I think everyone in this House agrees that we lack in our country national unity and communal harmony. And from that point of view, I am sorry that this Resolution should have been worded in the manner in which it has been done. Now, I do not understand Indianisation. Every citizen of India is an Indian. He does not need Indianisation. He has all the rights under the Constitution. All the fundamental rights are guaranteed to him. We can proudly say we do not have two classes of citizenship. We have repudiated emphatically, unequivocally, the evil, vicious, theory of two nations. Therefore, whatever the community, whatever the caste, all the people who are the citizens of India are equal. I also regret that the expression 'Indianisation of Muslims' should have been used.

In my opinion one of the misfortunes of our country is, as somebody said, there are very few Indians in India. We think of our caste, we think of our community, we think of our language, we think of our religion, and the last, if at all, we think of our country. And what we need is that our first, foremost, paramount loyalty should be to our country. In other words, we must develop an Indian outlook. And I say that applies not only to the Muslims, but to the Hindus, the Christians, and others. Therefore, as a universal proposition I accept it though I do not like this language. This is not a very happy language. We do need people in our country with a national outlook. But our trouble today is that our people postpone loyalty to the country to all other loyalties, minor loyalties, forgetting the major loyalty which is loyalty to India. And, therefore, I wish my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, had

worded this Resolution better. Now, it is my view that in public affairs we should not permit our religion to include itself. Religion is a matter of one's individual conscience. I may believe in God or I may not believe in God. I may be an agnostic or an atheist or a Hindu or a Muslim. That is my concern. That is my relationship with my creator if I believe in one, or my way of life. But when it comes to public affairs we are all Indians and should think, behave and act as Indians. The trouble with our country is, we do not do so. In this House although we represent different States, I say that we should all think and act as Indians. I will remind you of the famous answer the great British political thinker Burke, gave to his constituency—I think it was Sheffield. His constituency wrote to him and said: "You are not taking sufficient interest in your constituency and you are not looking after the interests of your constituency." The reply that Burke gave, the celebrated reply, was: "Although Sheffield has elected me, once I am elected, I represent not Sheffield but the whole of England."

That should be our attitude. We come from different States. This is the Council of States. The Lok Sabha is different. Even though we come from different States, even though we may look after the interests of our respective States, that looking after the interests of the States should be from the point of view of India, of the interests of India and the national aspect. My quarrel with the Government is this—I have said so on the last occasion and I say it again and I know the Home Minister made some very cynical remarks about me, I am afraid he did not understand me, he did not appreciate what I said. What I say is, the Government policy should not be communal. If we are a Secular State, we must stick to a secular view of public affairs. Whether we are dealing with a domestic question or an international question, the only way to look at it is from an Indian national point of view and I am sorry to say, I am really sorry to say that there has not been one occasion but several where the Government has tried to look at a question from a communal point of view to satisfy one community or another. That is an entirely wrong approach, that is not

an Indian approach. My definition of secularism is this. The British definition was to play one community against another, appoint people to a post because they represented certain communities, so that the members of the majority community were indignant and angry that people of merit in their community were passed over. What real secularism means is that no one should be disqualified by reason of his caste or community. Appoint people on merits, whether he is a Harijan or a Muslim or a Hindu or a Christian. Do not try and seek to help a community or please a community or cater to a community by making appointments or giving advantages to that community because it is a community. That is not secularism but communalism in another form. As I said in the debate on Ahmedabad riots, that is unfortunately what we did with results that are known to everybody in this House.

You have imposed a time-limit and I will not exceed it. What we need to-day more than anything else is to put down everything that leads to separation and encourage everything that leads to national integration. I do not want to be misunderstood when I appeal to the Muslim community and other minority communities also to join the national stream. There is the national stream. They are part of this nation, as much part of the nation as the Hindus. I resent anybody telling me that I am not as good an Indian as any other Indian. The traditions of the country are mine as much of the Hindus. The culture and civilisation which have come down for centuries and thousands of years belongs to me as it belongs to others. What we want is that all of us, the Hindus, Muslims and Christians, should share in this heritage, should be proud of this heritage, should feel and think as Indians and should not get into separate compartments and start thinking as different communities, different castes or religions. That is the only way we can have national unity and national integration in this country.

(Speech delivered in Rajya Sabha)

ANNEXURE VI

ANATOMY OF A COMMUNAL RIOT

By Nandan Kagal

It is strange that the Union authorities should try to place the primary blame for the Ahmedabad riots on the Jana Sangh. We are asked to believe that Mr. Balraj Madhok, who addressed a meeting in Ahmedabad a few days before the carnage began, was the villain of the piece. They have every reason to know better. One can only conclude that political opportunism is the spur to their accusations and insinuations. The Jana Sangh may have a great deal to answer for—but not for what happened in Ahmedabad.

The facts about Ahmedabad are harsh but they must be stated bluntly. The sinister mischief which resulted in more than a thousand deaths was sparked by Muslim communalists who foolishly thought they could attack the Jagannath temple with impunity. That is the most charitable explanation of the beating up of a number of inoffensive sadhus first outside and then inside the temple courtyard. The sadhus were bringing back from pasture the temple dairy's cows some of which were so thoughtless as to bump into a couple of Muslims attending an 'Urs' near the temple. This was sufficient provocation for a bunch of militant Muslims to demonstrate that they are made of sterner stuff than either cows or cowherds.

APOLOGY AND AFTER

The Jagannath temple is regarded as one of the most venerable in Gujarat. It is also one of the most progressive. It runs a free kitchen and provides meals to the poor every day without distinction of caste or creed. The attack on this temple was therefore resented all the more by

the Hindu community in Ahmedabad. The **mahant** of the temple went on a fast which he broke when a group of Muslim citizens went to him and apologised for the incident. The **mahant** accepted the apology but the Hindu community in Ahmedabad did not.

One can be fairly certain that the Hindu community also would have accepted the apology but for the communal tension created a fortnight or so earlier by the massive Al Aqsa procession in the city. The organisers of the procession were cynical men seeking cheap popularity among Ahmedabad's 250,000 Muslims. They were also dangerously mischievous. Otherwise they would have seen to it that their followers did not carry inflammatory placards. As Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan has pointed out with characteristic candour, the placards in the Aqsa procession had such slogans as "Those who clash with Islam will be wiped out." After this, the attack on the Jagannath temple was a sharper incitement to communal violence than anything which Mr. Balraj Madhok said in his speech in Ahmedabad. The politicians in power at the Centre know this very well but they are not honest enough to say so. They talk loudly about Hindu communalism but their silence on the existence of Muslim communalism in this country is also deafening.

This writer had a long conversation with a group of Muslim leaders in Ahmedabad when he visited the city during the riots. All of them readily admitted that the communal violence had been sparked by the Jagannath temple incident. However, they hastened to add that the attack on the temple was the work of a small group of either fanatics or 'goondas' and that the Muslim community in Ahmedabad should not be blamed for it. They also expressed surprise that the Hindu community should have reacted so violently to the misdeeds of a small group of misguided Muslims. Somewhat later in the conversation this writer asked them what they thought of the Aqsa procession. They said that their religious sentiments had been deeply violated by the burning of the Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem and that the Ahmedabad procession was an expression of the collective resentment of the Muslims over the desecration of one of their holiest

shrines. At that stage they had to be reminded that they were indulging in double standards.

A STARTLING FACT

Most of them could not get the point till it was spelt out to them in painful detail. These Muslim leaders, regarded generally as moderates, thought it was prefectly natural that Muslims in Ahmedabad should get worked up over the desecration of a mosque in Jerusalem by an Australian tourist who has been apprehended and is being tried by an Israeli court for his criminal act. But these very men could not understand why the Hindus of Ahmedabad should get so worked up over the desecration of a temple in their own country in their own city by a group of their own Muslims. Did they really believe that only Muslims have religious sentiments which deserve to be respected and that they can trifle with the religious sentiments of others? Or did they think, as the placards in the Ahmedabad procession proclaimed, that those who clash with Islam will be wiped out? Far too many of India's Muslims cling to these absurd beliefs. This no doubt explains the startling but established fact that most of the communal riots in this country have been started by them. This harsh fact cannot be conjured away by pointing out that at the end of the riots the casualties are far higher among Muslims than among Hindus. Of course they are, and they always will be in a country which is predominantly Hindu. The Ahmedabad riots are only the latest reminder of this.

Government spokesmen and publicists have said with an air of discovery that in predominantly Hindu areas Muslims were killed, Muslim shops were looted and Muslim houses were burned. They see in this what they describe in their linguistic innocence as "pre-planning." It is strange that they have not discovered that in the predominantly Muslim areas, Hindus were killed and Hindu shops and houses were similarly singled out for looting and burning. It is stranger still that they do not know that this is precisely what happens in every Hindu-Muslim riot. There is always some method in communal madness.

While the origin of the Ahmedabad riots must be traced to Muslim provocations, the responsibility for the grimly high loss of life and property must be placed on the Gujarat Government. Maintenance of law and order is the first task of any Government and the riots should have been quelled sternly and swiftly. The State Government certainly had the physical means to put down the disturbances before they got out of hand. What it lacked was the will to use them. Gujarat has bigger police establishment in proportion to its population than almost every other State. It has nearly as many policemen as Bihar, for a population half its size. In Ahmedabad itself the proportion of police to the population is about the same as in the country's other big cities. But the police force was not used effectively.

OFFICIAL INDECISION

Communal riots are vicious affairs in which religious bloodlust does not spare even women and children. This kind of madness cannot be suppressed with lathis or tear-gas shells. Only the rifle can do the job. But Mr. Hitendra Desai refrained from using the necessary degree of force in the initial stages of the disturbances. The State Reserve Police is a rifle force; it is not trained to use lathis. Yet, the SRP units which were deployed to assist the regular police force were issued lathis during the riots. It was only after Mr. Chavan's visit to Ahmedabad—when the Army had already taken charge of the city and the worst of the rioting was over—that the State Reserve Police were given rifles at the Centre's insistence. Earlier, when contingents of the Border Security Force were rushed to Gujarat by the Union Government to assist the State authorities, Mr. Hitendra Desai's Government was reluctant to use them. Incredible as it sounds, the B.S.F. contingents were ordered by the State Government to protect Ahmedabad's police stations instead of dealing with the killers in the streets.

The impotence of the police was a direct consequence of the infirmity of the State Government. It is true that Mr. Hitendra Desai did not fiddle while Ahmedabad burned. He merely sat in his bungalow surrounded by his

Cabinet colleagues—and a re-assuring number of security guards. It was a pathetic spectacle of visible incapacity to deal with the situation. It must be assumed that the long sessions at the Chief Minister's residence were directed to some useful purpose; but it is a risky assumption. One suspects that a good deal of the time was taken up in deciding what official accounts of the day's happenings should be fed to the Press and put over the Radio.

PATHETIC SPECTACLE

There was also a desperate search for alibis and scapegoats. One senior Minister tried to persuade this writer that China had a hand in the disturbances. He said that Chinese money was being circulated in the city, and to clinch the issue he pulled out his wallet and flourished the evidence—a Chinese currency note. It would have been cruel to ask him whether Chinese currency would be of any earthly use in Ahmedabad, particularly when all the shops were closed. Such was the condition of the State Government when Gujarat was gripped by the worst communal riots in its history.

India is a predominantly Hindu country which has chosen to be a secular State. The element of choice needs to be emphasised. The permanence of Indian secularism cannot therefore be taken for granted. The Muslim minority cannot afford to forget this. Its interest lies in strengthening secularism and in becoming part of the mainstream of the country's life. The pity is that far too many of India's Muslims do not realise this.

That Hindu communalism is a constant threat to the secular nature of the Indian Union is widely recognised and rightly denounced. But Muslim communalism is a parallel reality to which the authorities shut their eyes. This is bad enough since it encourages Muslim communalism and as a result strengthens the forces of Hindu communalism as well. But what makes the situation infinitely worse is that the politicians in power both at the Centre and in the States have helped to raise the barriers to national integration while mounting platitudes about unity in diversity.

This process was started by the Congress party soon

after Independence. In the days of the communal electorate, Mr. Jinnah's Muslim League was strongest precisely in those provinces in which Muslims were in a minority; that is, in the areas which are now part ot the Indian Union. This fact was not lost on the leaders of the Congress party when the time came for the country's first general election.

CATCHING VOTES

The Constituent Assembly had framed a secular Constitution. And that it should be secular was accepted readily by all. This should have heartened the Muslims in this country who admittedly had reason to regard the future fearfully in view of the monstrous partition massacres. But the Congress party wanted to grasp Mr. Jinnah's Muslim votes en bloc and it went about it in a way which was at once the easiest and the most dangerous.

The Muslim minority was told that its interests were safe only in the hands of the Congress party, that the other parties were not to be trusted. Not India but only the Congress party was genuinely secular. Mr. Nehru himself became the strongest champion of the rights of Muslims and the duties of Hindus in secular India. One cannot easily recall his telling the Muslim minority plainly that it too had certain duties and obligations in a secular State.

While the gains of opportunism were immediately for the Congress party it was some time before the damage done to the secular cause became discernible. Those who had voted for the Muslim League began to vote for the Congress and a number of more or less prominent Muslim Leaguers who did not go to Pakistan soon became more or less prominent Congressmen. Mr. Nehru perhaps hoped that the Muslim communalists who joined the Congress would be secularised by the party. But it was a naive hope. What happened subsequently shows that the outrageously anti-secular bid for the Muslim block vote helped to communalise politics once again—a communalisation which only a few years earlier had resulted in the partition of India.

While the Congress was able to get the Muslim vote quite easily by playing on the fears of the minority community it had to pay a price for retaining it. The price is most recognisable in the field of social legislation. Secularism is historically a fairly recent concept, and Mr. Nehru realised that it might wither away in this country unless an effort was made to modernise Hindu society however great the obstacles. The Hindu Code Bill was a courageous attempt to give Hindu society a new and more progressive look. Earlier, the Constitution itself had abolished untouchability and had forbidden its practice in any form. Mr. Nehru must have known that social equity also demanded the reform of Muslim personal law. But on this question he preferred to spurn the modern outlook and support medieval obscurantism instead. And he did this in the name of upholding and strengthening secularism.

The argument was a very curious one. Parliament being composed mainly of Hindus should not legislate on matters relating specifically to the Muslim community. The initiative for such legislation must come from the Muslims themselves. If this is not the two-nation theory one would like to know what it is.

A number of Muslim States, including Pakistan, have reformed the Islamic law relating to marriage and divorce. But in India the authorities are on the side of the tradition-bound 'mullahs' in the name of secularism. It is no wonder that Muslim communalism is very much alive in this country today. Within the Muslim community, those who are truly secular and progressive in their outlook are a small minority.

THEN AND NOW

Some recent developments will almost certainly further communalise the political scene. In the power struggle within the Congress party communal and caste factors are being conscicusly exploited. In Mr Nehru's days the Muslim minority was given the impression that its future would be bleak unless the Congress party remained in power. Now an impression is being created that its future will be bleak unless the ruling Congress faction at the Centre remains on top. The Union Govern-

ment's grotesque, attempts to exploit the issue of Al Aqsa and to beg a seat for India at the Muslim communalist conference at Rabat are part of the same picture. As a secular State, India had no business to identify itself with the Rabat conference however large this country's Muslim population might be.

New Delhi's folly has not only exposed India to humiliation abroad. What is more important, it has done grave damage at home. It has encouraged the kind of people who organised the Aqsa procession in Ahmedabad which created such communal tension that the Jagannath temple incident was sufficient to touch off the most vicious riots. The consequences of all this will be grim indeed. The enemies of secularism will be strengthened among Hindus and Muslims alike. And the responsibility for this will have to be placed squarely on the Congress party and the Union Government.

(Courtesy: **Indian Express**)

ANNEXURE VII

INDIANISATION

By Badr-ud-Din Tyabji

The Jana Sangh has done a real service by bringing the concept of "Indianisation" to the fore. Whatever may have been the motives of those who first brought it up at their party meeting, its leaders deserve credit for subsequently raising its sights. If they hold firm to this course the party might well succeed in Indianising itself instead of enmeshing itself in an antediluvian strait-jacket, which would be abhorrent to the free-ranging spirit of Hinduism.

Certain leaders of the New Congress on the other hand in their pre-election zeal to stand out as the staunchest, if not the sole, protectors of minority rights, have by their hasty and ill-considered pronouncements only confused the issue. Worse still, they have even brought the concept itself, which is an admirable one, into some kind of disrepute.

IMPORTANCE

In judging such matters obviously, one should neither be too naive and trusting, nor too suspicious and sceptical. Maybe the Jana Sangh's stand changed because of the New Congress onslaught on it; maybe the wording of the New Congress statements was faulty only because of a decline in the standard of English taught in India nowadays. We may leave it at that; the issue of Indianisation however is far too important to be left in such suspense. We must come to national grips with it.

When at Aligarh recently I was asked at a Students' Union meeting, what I thought about Indianisation, I replied that I thought it unexceptionable ideal. By

Indianisation, of course, I do not mean the Hinduisation, Islamisation or Westernisation of all the people of India by a ukase of the Government, or any other authority. Indianisation must be a synthesis born out of our secular ideals. It must help further the cause of secularism; neither go contrary to it, nor act as an impediment to it.

Before Independence when we talked about Indianisation it had a simple, comprehensive, but clear-cut meaning. The Indianisation of the army, for instance, meant recruiting sufficiently qualified and trained Indian officers to replace the British. Similarly, in regard to the Civil Service; in fact to the whole paraphernalia of the Government the same criterion applied.

The progressive replacement of foreigners by qualified Indians was considered to be a process of Indianisation. All Indians qualified for any position were ipso facto considered Indianised—no distinction between one Indian and another was made or thought of after they were appointed; only at the time of initial selection was an attempt made to ensure that the distribution of the loaves and fishes of office among the various communities took place on an equitable basis.

After Independence with all the British out, and Indians of every type, character, and background in, that phase is over. The term must now necessarily acquire a fresh connotation. The question no longer is one of differentiating between Indians and foreigners but among Indians themselves.

Under the Indian Constitution all Indians are equal. It would be an outrage against the Constitution if some Indians gave themselves the airs of being more equal than the others in their Indianness; and assumed the right of telling off the others on where the latter failed to come up to the social standards arbitrarily set by themselves to suit their own predilections or background. The Indianisation process has therefore to be a process of general application, not confined to any particular community, caste or social group.

This much seems clear. The Jana Sangh, too, has accepted it or reconciled itself to it. But what is the pro-

cess to such Indianisation itself to consist in? For this purpose, it has obviously to be given a more qualitative meaning. It has to be a process that will help bring our society, and the organisation necessary to keep it into being, on the lines set out in our Constitution.

Looked at in this light Indianisation must be considered a conditioning process, or form of education that every Indian should undergo, in order to make him a better national. In other words, it should be an essential factor for promoting national integration.

There is no doubt that along with the great diversity in India (which in itself is an admirable thing for which most developed countries long for in the increasing monotony brought about by the mass production of consumer goods and the spread of machine-made uniformity) there is a feeling of separateness and alienation between Indians of different regions and cultural backgrounds. This arises from their ignorance of and prejudice against each other's different social habits, religion, and way of life. There can be unity in diversity only if there is understanding and appreciation of it. Tolerance is an essential prerequisite of this but is not sufficient in itself, as it tends to degenerate easily enough into indifference, if not contempt.

Tolerance has to be reinforced by understanding, and vivified by appreciation. Tolerance, understanding, and appreciation, in that order, are, in my opinion, the prime requirements for promoting national cohesiveness—nationhood in India.

The Indianisation process that I should like to set in motion would, therefore, be an educative process by which Indians with different backgrounds, culture and religion would be made to know something of the religious, cultural, and social background of all their fellow citizens.

It is not necessary for this purpose that they should give up anything of their own or adopt customs or practices different from that which they themselves cherish, but it would certainly involve their being made conscious of the ways of life of others, the latter's customs and manners and the reasons therefor—their background —

and capable of understanding them, if not always of appreciating them.

If such knowledge and understanding was spread among the progressive sections of our population—the students, the educated in particular—it is bound to result in much fruitful cross-fertilisation. Some aspects of certain customs, manners and ways of life, which at present are most evident in the observances of only a particular section of the population, region, or followers of one religion or community, would almost automatically tend to be recognised, acclaimed and then adopted by a general consensus of public opinion as the most suitable for the people as a whole, or at least for those living in that particular region or in a similar environment.

This is likely to occur because the impact of these customs, manners, and ways of life, different from their own, on such persons would come from a prior knowledge of their background. They would then be judged on their merits instead of, as now, in a spirit of more or less ignorant confrontation and rivalry with an a-priori assumed alien culture and unfamiliar mode of living.

Such knowledge and experience would enable an ever growing number of Indians to determine with an unprejudiced mind which of the customs, manners, and modes, in the different ways of life current in India, were the most suitable and aesthetically the most pleasing, for adoption to suit their present-day requirements.

In this way one may hope that gradually the differences in the ways of living that now form a barrier between the various social entities of India would be smoothed out, if not bridged, and national integration promoted. The idea governing such a movement would be not so much a desire to obliterate the diverse features of the cultural and social landscape of India—its mountains, its valleys, and its waterfalls and to convert it into a uniform drab flat plain. That would indeed be neither desirable nor, fortunately, possible, except through the explosion of an atom bomb, which would destroy most of us.

What is really suggested is as wide an extension as possible of our irrigation system, canals joining up all the

great Indian cultural rivers; and the construction of a national hydro-electric grid, to harness all their combined power potentialities, so that cultural illumination and the impetus for social reform might spread throughout the land.

To some extent this has of course been happening all through the ages. Hardly any customs, mode, or manner of living that is current over a substantial section of the population, or an area of India, has remained unaffected by influences coming in from multiple sources, from peoples with a different cultural background or religion.

This process of assimilation, acquisiton, and adaptation has naturally had its ups and downs. Sometimes it has progressed rapidly and smoothly, as during the best periods of Mughal rule, and subsequently even during the British times. In the latter period it was most marked in the Princely States of India, whether Hindu, Muslim or Sikh.

Unfortunately, the convulsion of Partition, and all that went before it, and has followed it has had a crippling effect on it. Attempts have even been made by various groups, communities, and political parties to put the clock back, and to revert to some mythically pure standards of their own for which even history books have had to be revised.

An attempt must now be made to get over these inhibitions. We must strive to arrive at conclusions in regard to these matters on the basis of the current requirements of contemporary society. Past prejudices or fears that thereby any Indian will be endangering his own individuality, character, or religion, must be dispelled by a rational co-operative effort.

It is not possible here to detail the many aspects of our varied ways of life, modes and manners, that need to be altered individually and collectively by the different communities, societies, or followers of particular religions and faiths that live in India, each of whose ways of life have as much claim to be considered Indian as those of others.

It is pleasing, however, to note, for instance, that the Indian sari on its own merits, has become almost the

universal costume for women in India. An Indian woman wearing it, be she of North or South, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Parsi, or of any other religion, or region, does not feel that thereby she becomes less of a North Indian, South Indian, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Parsi, and so on. Her identity remains her own; the sari identifies her as an Indian, and the Nation identifies itself with her. The gain is mutual.

Indian men have not yet reached such a consensus about their dress, though our young generation in their shirts and tight trousers seem to have arrived at certain conclusion; and even more so, young girls in their kamizes and churidar pyjamas.

I am not one who favours the imposition of uniformity in any of these matters except on occasions when uniformity is called for, such as in the Services, and at formal official functions.

What is much more important is that the differences such as they are should be recognised, and appreciated, as being natural, and on the whole pleasing differences due to historical and cultural reasons, which have all contributed towards the making of the wonder that is India.

The knowledge, the awareness, and the appreciation of these differences constitute the real substance of Indianisation.

(Courtesy: **Indian Express**)

INDIA NISA TION

THE AUTHOR'S OWN INTERPRETATION OF AN IDEA WHICH IS ACCLAIMED AS HIGH PATRIOTISM AND DENOUNCED AS SECTARIAN AND COMMUNAL WITH EQUAL VEHEMENCE

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